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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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## EAST EUROPE

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## ROMANIA ERADICATING HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY IN CLUJ

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Jul 87 p 21

[Article by Martti Valkonen: "Extermination of Minority in Transylvania, Part 2: Hungarian Being Eradicated from University; Bucharest Government Disperses Minority Youths to Different Parts of Country"]

[Text] Cluj/Kolozsvar--The old Hungarian-language university was in operation in Kolozsvar, Romania, until 1958. At that time it was merged with the newer Romanian university following a bitter controversy. In Bucharest Nicolae Ceausescu, who had been promoted to the Central Committee Secretariat, was responsible for the merger.

The president of the Hungarian-language university made his last trip to Ceausescu himself to beg him to stop the merger. Failing in his attempt, the president threw himself under a train on the return trip from Bucharest and was killed.

At first the two different language halves of the university subsisted as equals, but then they began to close down the Hungarian-language departments and chairs one after another or combine them with their Romanian-language counterparts. According to the law, instruction may be given in Hungarian, but in practice the Romanian administration does not permit it. Last fall 25 speakers of Hungarian began their mathematics studies. That number would have been enough to set up two classes given in Hungarian. The university administration nevertheless assigned the Hungarian-speaking students to Romanian-language classes and not a single Hungarian-language class was instituted.

## Instruction in Hungarian Reduced

In 1964-1965 the university's Hungarian-language instruction was segregated into an institute of its own which was composed of language and literature departments. They had a total of 32 instructors. Later the departments were combined and now there is nothing left but an institute that is growing smaller as the campaign of terror against the language intensifies. It has 14 instructors, the youngest of whom is now 42 years old and has been a teacher for 19 years. When someone goes into retirement or dies, he is not replaced with a new instructor.

In the entire university only the Hungarian-language institute offers instruction in Hungarian, but even its four Hungarian professors lecture to Hungarian-speaking students on Ceausescu-style Marxist-Leninism in Romanian.

In the early 1960's about 40 university students a year who majored in Hungarian were accepted. Between 1968 and 1974 an average of 25 new students a year were accepted. Between 1974 and 1984 the number of new students dropped to from 15 to 20. The past two years only seven new students each fall were accepted.

In the 1960's from 30 to 40 university students a year minored in Hungarian. During the following decade that figure declined until now, in the 1980's, not a single university student has been permitted to minor in Hungarian.

A Hungarian-language teacher's college that for a long time had turned out from 60 to 70 teachers a year operates in the town of Tirgu Mures in the Carpathians, on the Romanian border. In 1978-1979 the college was to everyone's surprise shut down and Hungarian-language teachers are no longer being trained. In connection with another Romanian-language university, there was a law faculty that used to offer instruction in Hungarian, but the last year's course it gave in Hungarian began in the fall of 1985. Since then, all new students are taught only in Romanian.

#### Finnish Is Still Subsidized Subject

Finnish has been retained as a university subject since all Hungarian students also take an elementary course in Finnish. There have been Finnish teachers sent from Finland at the Hungarian language institute for a long time now. Anja Haaparanta, who has been teaching Finnish in Cluj-Kolozsvar for the past 4 years, is returning home and the next teacher, whose salary will be paid by Finland and Romania in accordance with a cooperation agreement, will replace her at the beginning of the fall term.

In Romania officials assign young people who have completed their studies jobs. A person may refuse to accept an appointment, but if he refuses he must pay a fine of 8,000 lei to the state and he will not be given another position in his field of study. The fine is a heavy one since the average salary is from about 2,500 to 3,000 lei a month.

#### State Breaks Up Families

Romania is officially striving to integrate the population into the Greater Romanian nation. Officials prefer to assign young people jobs far from their home towns to speed up integration. Thus nearly all Hungarian-speaking teachers and engineers are assigned jobs on the other side of the Carpathians in Romanian areas for 3 years. During the past decade about a third of all Hungarian speakers have had to leave Transylvania, but this year about three-fifths of them had to.

Even families with children are scattered over different parts of the country. In a rural area in Transylvania we came across a family two of whose four children that had attended school lived over 500 km from both their parents' home and their spouses. Their young children were left in the care of the

grandparents. The members of the family have been living apart from one another for 5 years now.

The grandparents have resigned themselves to silent, powerless despair on seeing how the arbitrary power exercised by the state is destroying the lives of the next two generations.

Those assigned jobs elsewhere have the legal right to apply for new jobs after 3 years. But in practice it is otherwise since at all workplaces the managers are Romanians and they do not hire Hungarian-speaking workers who come back to Transylvania. The tendency is rather to bring more Romanian residents into the region who are given the villages and farmlands of the Hungarian-speaking workers.

#### Those Who Refuse Become Nonpersons

In 1985 the student body of the Kolozsvár Hungarian Language Institute year's course, 22 graduate schoolteachers, rose together in revolt and refused the jobs assigned them by officials. Only five of them had received appointments in Transylvania, while the others had to go to Romanian villages.

A protest was drafted at the home of one of the students and his father signed it in his own name. As a penalty for doing so, he lost his job as chief editor of a Hungarian-language newspaper and all the new schoolteachers were fined without any hope of getting jobs. All of them instantly became nonpersons.

Only two of the Hungarian students who had begun their studies in the academic year that had come to a close were permitted to minor in the foreign language they wanted to minor in. The other five had to minor in Romanian.

Yet the law says that only a person who comes from a Romanian-speaking family may teach in Romania, so Hungarian-speaking youths' entire training is wasted. They will probably not get to teach Hungarian, nor can they teach Romanian. Right from the start in their studies they are completely trapped in a blind alley into which Ceausescu's Romania is pushing the whole Hungarian-speaking minority, and first of all the educated intellectuals.

11,466

CSO: 3617/127

## MINORITY HUNGARIAN WRITER COMPLAINS OF ROMANIAN PERSECUTION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMA in Finnish 12 Jul 87 p 19

[Article by Martti Valkonen: "Extermination of a Minority in Transylvania, Part 3: Minority Rallies Its Forces to Fight for Its Rights; Standing in Line for Food Romania's Hungarians Are Referred to as 'Landless Ones Who Eat Our Bread'"]

[Text] Cluj/Kolozsvar--"Romanian officials' arbitrariness drove me to resigning from the country's writers' union," writer Sandor Kanyadi said in his home filled with books and pictures on the top floor of a five-story building near downtown Kolozsvar. "Officials persecute Hungarian writers and all intellectuals, and pressure the minority to abandon its language. I resigned in protest."

Kanyadi is an internationally known, 58-year-old poet. Among his own people he is one of the most influential figures. As is the case with many other Transylvanian protesters, he is now getting on in years, approaching retirement age. They know what it was like between the wars and they know that the Bucharest government can let Transylvania prosper if it wants to.

There are many alternatives available to the widespread national autonomy of the present regime of terror. Everything depends on the will, level of culture and efforts of those who wield power. The current Bucharest government differs from many earlier ones in that it neither wants nor dares to rely on the loyalty of the Hungarian minority.

Kanyadi's decade-long struggle for their rights has been a passage from one defeat to another. His latest defeat this year involved a trip to Rotterdam where he had been invited to attend a seminar on Hungarian literature. A literature research institute had sent him the invitation from the Netherlands in February. Kanyadi applied for a travel permit throughout the entire winter and spring without receiving any sort of reply.

Kanyadi had received neither a reply nor an explanation by early summer when the seminar was to begin in Rotterdam, nor had an explanation reached him by Midsummer's Day, when this interview was conducted.

At first, the Romanian writers' union recommended that Kanyadi be granted a travel permit and suggested that a Romanian writer also be sent to Rotterdam.



The officials responsible for deciding did not approve Kanyadi's trip, but they did grant a Romanian a permit so that he could go to Rotterdam to read a paper on Hungarian literature in Romanian.

The union did not continue to support its member's request for a travel permit any longer later in the spring, nor did it see to it that his rights were respected by the officials. After all, the union is itself an official agency.

#### Oral Letter to Rotterdam

When the seminar had already begun, Kanyadi read an oral letter to Rotterdam by telephone. It was read before the seminar and it was also distributed as a literary work. The next phone calls between Rotterdam and Kolozsvár no longer went as smoothly since the officials cut them off at the start. The participants in the Rotterdam literary seminar sent the Romanian officials their own protest because of the treatment accorded Kanyadi.

In Kanyadi's opinion, it is precisely international protests addressed to the Romanian Government that are his last hope of going on with his literary work and all of his chances of earning a decent living. He wants to lodge a public protest in his own name in full view of as broad a public sector as possible. Otherwise, he faces only being driven ever deeper into obscurity until he becomes invincible, ceases to exist.

Also translated into Finnish, Kanyadi has begun to turn prematurely gray in his fight. He has 2 years to go to the age when he can retire from his job as editor of a children's magazine, but his resignation from the writers' union has jeopardized his job as well. In Romania editors, editors of children's magazines too, must be members of both the communist party and their unions and they are on no account expected to lodge protests against them.

Aside from the danger of losing his job, Kanyadi has already lost a substantial supplementary pension in resigning from the union. The pension one gets from one's regular work is so small that one cannot make ends meet with it. Wages are also low and food is expensive, if one can get it at all.

#### Contacts with Foreigners Forbidden

When we visited Kanyadi in his home, to our hosts' regret there was nothing in the house to offer us but bread, jam and pork fat and a drop of "tsuika," the local moonshine. We had with us various kinds of food: coffee, tea, sugar, chocolate, sausages, bread, butter, cheese, beer and wine as well as various medicines for general use, as is the custom when traveling from Hungary to Romania.

Kanyadi told us that he got up on some mornings as early as 0500 hours in order to have time to walk to the surrounding countryside before going to work to buy milk and yoghurt. The writer and his wife can neither manage to nor have the time to stand on line for food in the city daily for hours on end waiting in the hope that food might reach the stores.

In addition to the physical fatigue involved, standing in line is mentally stressful since more and more often Romanians, irate over having to stand in

line and over shortages, call their Hungarian-speaking countrymen "landless." According to Kanyadi, it is common to hear them be urged to speak Romanian while standing in line because "you landless ones here are, after all, eating our bread."

#### Only Romania Denies Rights

Transylvania is, nevertheless, Hungary's oldest province and was its most important principality in various periods of its history. Already Hungarian 300 years ago, it had for a long time been one of Europe's then big new creative cultural centers. Many peoples have settled in Transylvania but, with the exception of Romania, nowhere has anyone tried to contest the Hungarian people's great and long-standing attachment to the land.

Aside from Transylvania the darkness is descending lower and lower onto all of present-day Romania since its leaders are content to see the population suffer from hunger and illnesses that go untreated. Foreign gifts of food are prohibited as are conversations with foreigners without requesting prior permission to do so.

An edict that enjoins every Romanian citizen to report any contact with foreigners to officials, the secret police, within 24 hours is a confirmation of the terror that is leveled at individuals. As a particular gibe at them, the edict orders priests to write up their reports in quintuplicate.

Telephone calls abroad may be made at the regular rates once every 3 months. The rates for more frequently repeated calls rise rapidly to as much as 10 times [the regular rate]. Particularly Hungarians, who have relatives abroad, make such calls. According to Ceausescu, the security and the welfare of the nation require that their borders be hermetically sealed.

#### There Was More Freedom in the 1600's

Kanyadi reminded us that some 40 young men a year left the Principality of Transylvania for the Universities of Amsterdam and Leyden in the 1600's. within 100 years 4,000 young Hungarians returned to Transylvania after having acquired a foreign university education.

The paucity of foreign contacts has to do with the government's unwillingness to use funds to maintain Hungarian culture. The poet's wife, Magda Kanyadi, has been working with a dozen other scholars for years on the preparation of a planned 10-part dictionary of old Transylvanian Hungarian. The project was headed until his recent death by Prof Attila T. Szabo, who attained the age of 98 and who had gotten as far as the letter I and managed to publish the fourth volume.

The officials let T. Szabo go on with his work until his death under the protection of the university's Hungarian Language Institute, but they have not been in any hurry to name his successor nor do people believe they will do so. They have been allowed to work, but funds for the project have not been granted.

Like many of her colleagues, for years Magda Kanyadi has been working on the dictionary without pay, without compensation. They are trying to keep people from forgetting the old language, losing memories of their own culture and even to delay the rewriting of Transylvanian history, directed from Bucharest, into a form in which the Hungarians did not exist.

#### Those Who Leave and Those Who Stay

Like Kanyadi, Eva Gyimesi, a Hungarian instructor at the university in Kolozsvár, with her husband is continuing the fight for their own culture. She said that her family had pondered the matter for a long time and ended up convinced that they should stay there and resist the uniformly cheerless, gloomy obscurity that is being forced on Transylvania.

As for puppeteer Ivan Chelu, he decided to flee the genocide with his wife. He has had difficulties with the officials for 7 years now. When they deprived him of any chance of working and earning a living last December by banning independent puppet theater work, he filled out the required forms for applying for permission to move to relatives in West Germany.

The Federal Republic will pay a given amount of marks for the family of four, as the communist party headed by Ceausescu requires as a condition for obtaining a permit to move. The move should take place next fall. Until then the family will just sit and wait, without work and without money.

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CSO: 3617/128



## CSSR DELEGATE SPEAKS AT CSCE FOLLOW-UP SESSION

LD761316 Prague CTK in English 1242 GMT 26 Jun 87

[Text] Vienna, June 26 (CTK)--The importance of economic cooperation between European countries was pointed out by Czechoslovak Delegate Milan Kadnar at the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe here today.

Milan Kadnar listed several examples of advantageous cooperation between European countries, mentioning, e.g. contacts between Czechoslovak enterprises and banks and their West European partners. In this context he welcomed the proposal of nine neutral and nonaligned countries in support of setting up joint ventures and of exchange of information in this field.

The Czechoslovak delegate called on the participants in the meeting to engage in editing work on the final document in the groups for security, economy, and humanitarian issues. He pointed out that Czechoslovakia sought balanced and substantial results in all fields of European security and cooperation, thus also in the humanitarian sphere.

Milan Kadnar commented on statements by the leaders of the FRG and Belgian delegations that their governments respect the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, confirming the validity of the postwar borders in Europe and non-interference in internal affairs of other countries.

Referring to the current world women's congress in Moscow, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation asked the participants to support a proposal of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the USSR for ensuring the rights of women.

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CSO: 2400/142

## NYITRAI QUESTIONS, REDEFINES 'SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS'

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, 1987 pp 30-35

[Article by Mrs Ferenc Nyitrai, chairwoman, Central Statistical Office: "Thoughts About Our Socialist Achievements"]

[Text] By virtue of their nature, the processes of Hungarian economic transformation during the eighties cannot be confined within the framework of the economy. They impact upon society on a broader scale and on occasion evoke ideological debate. One of the key issues that emerges in such debates is the extent to which we upset our socialist achievements in the process of further developing certain areas of the economy, or while establishing new forms, or changing existing ones. Many who debate these issues interpret the situation in rather diverse ways. For this reason it is a valid question whether everything that was achieved during four decades of socialist development remains fully a part of socialist achievements. Are all of these achievements firm pillars upon which socialist construction rests--ones we should not touch--or are there some achievements which are transitory in character? A fully detailed answer to this question would require substantial, in-depth research and most likely also an appropriate historical perspective. Nevertheless I believe that the dissection of this problem can no longer be postponed, because it appears to many of us that we are trying to adhere to, or to leave undisturbed some perceived values which, in reality, are not part of socialist construction. We viewed some of these as goals to be achieved during one of the earlier phases of socialist development, and now we continue to insist having them as a matter of right. Therefore, without endeavouring an exhaustive treatment of the subject, I would like to examine the attendant issues in the framework of a few thoughts.

Changing the economic base undeniably necessitates a modification of the superstructure. This also means that our vision of socialism must be corrected from time to time, because we are not only witnessing the renewal process, we are a part of it. It is a daily experience that the changing of

the economic base affects our consciousness, and also in the reverse: our changing consciousness modifies the economic base. And as long as this is so, it will be apparent that we can preserve our values only if we first clarify in our minds which values are the real values, the durable ones.

The idea of sorting out values has emerged already during the formative years of economic reform. Twenty years later we must say that hardly any substantive progress was made in this respect. While the economic structure underwent changes, the proportions of various property relationships has changed, and so did our perception of creativity and entrepreneurial initiative. Yet, we continue to drag along several elements which represent adherence to values that are perceived values only, and thus act as retardents. A clarification of these issues at the earliest possible date could enhance the continued evolution of the economy.

The Party always viewed the molding of the political consciousness as its task, and during the past 30 years it did much to assure that political consciousness is not too far off from economic reality. In our days the forming of the consciousness is far more stratified than before. I view two target groups as particularly important: the retired stratum which is increasing in numbers and carries an increasing political weight, and youth, which has not yet gained political experience. It is apparent that in approaching these two strata, two different methods of the molding of consciousness must be applied. The majority of retired persons has settled political views. These often petrified views are based on the synthesis of experiences gained during earlier years and decades. In regard to this group it would be appropriate to conduct dialog, trying to convince its members with substantive arguments. The situation regarding youth is different. Young people have only foggy perceptions concerning socialism. For this reason, settled political consciousness that is an organic part of socialist development must be obtained through a continuous molding process. In the latter respect KISZ, the educational system, the family as well as the party have their work cut out. Although I do not believe that there is a significant stratum contaminated with bourgeois ideology among the young, we must consider the fact that in these days of ideological uncertainty those who do not yet have settled views and do not possess an ideological background, could be swayed more easily than those who are trained and have gained political experience.

Having thus prefaced my thoughts, I feel that clarification of the following issues would be important, and should become the future tasks of ideological research:

--Full employment. It is one of the key issues of the future, and is a real socialist achievement. How do we interpret the term "full employment"?

--Eight hour workday. In the early years of the 20th century Hungarian workers fought desperately for the realization of 8 hours of work, 8 hours of leisure time, and 8 hours of rest. How do we view today the achievement of an eight hour workday?

--Free health care. This is a general and broadly debated issue.

--Free general education. This too is a general and broadly debated issue, but it is one whose significance does not measure up to the issue of free health care.

--Pensions. Preservation of the purchase power of pensions is a particularly relevant issue today.

### Full Employment

In these days it has become commonplace (and I believe that this commonplace statement is true--I fully believe in it,) that full employment must be interpreted as "full and efficient" employment. Nevertheless the meaning of this statement is interpreted in different ways by employers and by various employee groups. In my judgment any nation realizes a state of full and efficient employment when everyone has an opportunity to find work that is commensurate with his education, abilities and diligence. This, however, must not mean that everyone should be able to pick the geographic area where he wants to work. In my judgment, the term "full and efficient employment" poses a dual system of requirements. First--and this is the subject generally discussed--a person seeking work has a just claim to a job within or closely related to his profession or trade, commensurate with his training and for compensation that is commensurate with his performance. Second, from the viewpoint of employers, the term means that emerging workforce requirements can be fulfilled by hiring employees who are trained within the profession or trade or in a related field that is tied to the employer's interest--individuals who are diligent and like to work. Quite obviously, one cannot perceive in this context either that only those workers living near the workplace would be hired. It is apparent that commuting and travel from the countryside to the cities, etc. will continue. "Full and efficient employment" also means that there will be part-time and contract employees (people with several children, those who care for aged parents, etc.) In these cases also the employee's needs must meet the employer's requirements.

The ideal of full employment will not be violated if someone receives low level work than what he had before, provided that the employee proved that he is not capable of, or is unable to perform higher level work. In this too there are quite a few erroneous views and practices. In Hungary employees see their career as nothing but an upward sloping one-way street: promotions or perhaps lateral transfers. The latter is not viewed favorably. We hardly find examples for movement in the reverse direction. Nevertheless an examination of differences in levels of training, personal characteristics, and mainly in the diligence of various employees will convince anyone that a career movement perceived as a two-way street does not contradict socialist achievements in any way. To the contrary: on grounds of theories supportive of performance-based compensation it would follow that if one does not want to perform, or cannot keep up with the increasing demands of a given assignment, that person should be assigned work which he is able to perform. Quite naturally, compensation should be commensurate with the work performed.



## Eight Hour Workday

In these days we are no longer talking about eight hours of work each and every day. Over the past decades the number of hours spent at work in any given week has decreased substantially. Our projections for the 1990's call for a 40 hour workweek. In contrast, however, overtime work, enterprise business association (VGMK) work and all other legal and illegal forms of activities constitute far longer hours of work for employees than what we proclaimed as appropriate and desirable in the early period of socialist construction. One wonders: are we not acting contrary to the fundamental socialist tenets whenever we organize VGMK-s or stimulate people to perform overtime work? The first issue to be thought through presents itself in the fact that at the time the working class fought for an eight hour workday, that eight hour period, or at least most of it, was spent with intensive labor. It would be incorrect to say that today there are no laborers, employees, or blue collar workers and intellectuals who work effectively, efficiently and intensively during their entire work period. Equally, however, no one would venture to say that 5 million active wage earners actually work through their entire work period. Many workers would be able to work during the entire workday only if beginning 1 January and ending 31 December the materials, tools and technological direction would be available at all times. Aware of the ups and downs of industrial production, of the seasonal nature of construction work and the low level of our organizational management capability, we will realize that slack time is a rather significant factor. Quite frequently people must take time off to attend official business. Some progress was made in this respect during the past years, but this is far from having achieved a breakthrough. There are some other reasons for not working during work hours. I will mention only one example. As everyone knows, job security is protected by law. It is also a fact that in most places they are looking for a far greater number of employees than the number of workers slated to be dismissed. Many people--young and old--draw the conclusion that nothing will happen if they discuss sports events or chat about personal matters during most of the work period, because that worker feels that he is irreplaceable anyway, further suggesting that unless the employee made a major mistake, or unless some drastic change took place involving Hungary's workforce, the worker's presence at the workplace would be peacefully tolerated. We must not acquiesce into this perception. I am convinced that it would be fully consistent with the idea of socialist achievements to expect that we perform to the fullest extent of our talent, ability and competence, and that those who do not even try to perform that way should be dismissed from the workplace.

I believe that even though overtime is undesirable, it is unavoidable in our days. Doubtless, those who perform 2-3 hours of overtime work regularly, each day, irrespective of whether such work is performed within a VGMK or in any other form, will somehow manage to relax during their 10-12 hour workday. Unfortunately, practice shows that most relaxation takes place during regular work hours. This then justifies the need for the increased recognition of work performed during primary work hours, in other words: we should establish conditions by which fewer people would require additional income, and consequently the performance of less additional work. On the other hand, we are aware of the gigantic, frequently difficult-to-resolve apartment problem of the young. Accordingly, I feel that it is unavoidable that some young

people in the process of establishing families perform additional work for a few years. There are families that need additional income for other reasons. For them, extra work may serve as a temporary solution.

### Free Health Care and Education

Perhaps the greatest debates of recent years were sparked by this issue. I believe that by now we may discuss free health care only if we place the word "free" in quotation marks. There has evolved a complicated system of payments of gratitude. This system impacts on the wallets of not only the rich. Statistics show that frequently the system draws money from the pockets of retired persons who experience financial difficulties, and for whom these payments represent substantial expenditures. We find two extremes today. I do not feel that it would be an appropriate feature of socialism to offer luxurious health care services completely free of charge. This would require investments of a scope that are unaffordable even in countries that are far more wealthy than Hungary. Similarly, however, I cannot agree with the other extreme either, namely that whoever can afford it should receive better medical treatment and care than the one who needs such treatment and care more, but cannot afford it. A truly socialist achievement would be a health care system that provides basic care, preventive care, and the diagnosis and treatment of already developed illnesses in a way that the system is accessible to all, i.e. free of charge. The socialist state must provide for the necessary hospital beds, instruments, doctors and nurses. On the other hand: private hospital rooms, medically unwarranted periods of recovery in medical facilities, and the choice of a particular physician should be subject to payment. We would be closer to the socialist ideal if we were to define in legal terms the services that are available free of charge to those in need, and others that are subject to payment. Following such definition, however, free of charge services should indeed be provided free of charge. Today, the situation is dissonant in this respect. Most people pay for basic health care, and these payments are far from being commensurate with the services rendered. The size of payments depends on the physician's prestige and on the kind of patients he has. This solution is more removed from our socialist ideals than an item-by-item decision regarding what is free and what is subject to payment. Incidentally, the latter solution would also require the establishment of a realistic pay-scale for physicians and nurses.

The appropriate reordering of health care provisions has yet another side. Within the community of physicians there are some groups of specialists for whom payments of gratitude are appropriate, and others, who seldom receive such payments. The latter category includes radiologists, laboratory and research physicians, etc. Similarly, the health care network contains some strata whose members receive payments of gratitude only occasionally, e.g. social homes, post-treatment care, etc. It is very difficult to fill these physician and nurse positions. One could assume that the incumbents of these positions are not the most highly trained health care professionals. If, within the foreseeable future the question of what is free and what is not free in health care could be resolved, these occupational concerns would disappear, or at least could be resolved more easily. I am not sufficiently optimistic to believe that this problem could be permanently resolved in the 1980's or the 1990's, but we should at least make a start in a direction that is consistent with our proper socialist standards.

There is much debate concerning education also, although the volume of debate is far less than with respect to health care. The difference in volume may be attributed to the fact that relative to general public education and in other fields of education too, the difference between what is being provided free and what parents must pay for has been defined. Once again I must say that there is no place that provides free of charge education--books, notebooks and equipment cost quite a lot of money. These expenses are accepted by society, or, at the minimum, they are taken for granted. The supply, maintenance and renewal of schools, however, presents a more difficult problem. According to our laws, the socialist state is supposed to provide for the proper maintenance of schools, nevertheless it does occur that parents must do the painting and provide drapes, flowers and many other items that enhance instruction. In places where parents are willing to sacrifice, one finds schools that are in substantially better condition than others, where parents are in no position to make sacrifices. This may produce some contradictions, and therefore this practice should be controlled far more intensively than it is today: to what extent do schools rely upon the parents' "voluntary" sacrifice--to what extent schools count on parents regarding the maintenance and renewal of schools.

#### The Interpretation of the Term "Pension"

An increasing lifespan and a relatively low age for pension eligibility creates an ever increasing stratum of pensioners in Hungary. It is unquestionable that this fact creates increasing budgetary burdens. As pensioners frequently claim: they are not parasites, they have produced that added value during their active career from which pensions are being paid--pension is an acquired right. No one denies this. A real worker retiring on his own volition has an acquired right to receive a pension. Accordingly, his expectation for a pension is justified. Both the political sphere and the state recognize even more than that: the real value of pensions should be maintained. I emphasize that in theory no one disputes these assertions. Nevertheless it is a different question how much the state can afford at various points in time. We all recognize that a pensioner has produced, moreover has paid for what later becomes a pension. One cannot deny, however, that pensions paid out in a given year must be charged against the national income of that particular year. To pay out more than what can be allocated for this purpose out of the value produced would not be a realistic expectation. It is for this reason that the MSZMP 13th congress proclaimed: "It is our goal to raise low pensions and to gradually achieve the preservation of the purchasing power of pensions, by establishing the required financial backing." Accordingly, in addition to the pension right that was acquired through work, there is a need for the establishment of a financial backing, which in turn depends on the accomplishments of the active age groups at any and all times.

The other side of this issue is that various incomes at the societal level must be adjusted to respond to social needs. We recognize the fact that the one who produced more--both in quantitative and qualitative terms--during his working life for society, should be entitled to a greater pension. On the other hand, one cannot disregard the person who for one reason or another was able to secure for himself only a lower pension. The socialist state cannot permit that person to linger below the minimum poverty threshold. The amount



of pension that is indispensable for the satisfaction of his minimum needs must be assured at all times. The maintenance of the right to social security is indeed an acquired right of persons who are part of a socialist society. And closely related to this is the issue of social inequities that are not dependent on work accomplishments. They must be moderated by all means, and moderating these inequities is the duty of the socialist state.

The stratum of retired persons has never been homogeneous. With increased longevity it is becoming even less so. The situation of pensioners who are still capable of earning a supplementary income is completely different from that of 75-80 years old or older pensioners whose health has deteriorated and who are not able to perform any work, frequently not even caring for themselves. It is our socialist achievement that those in need must be taken care of by society. There are several familiar forms of this type of care--there are various ways in which the state and the community express their caring, and the role of the family cannot be disregarded either.

Accordingly, as an acquired right, pension is a socialist achievement of the kind we must preserve, and at all times society must make an effort to provide for the preservation of the real value of pensions, through work performance by the active age groups. The restoration of the purchasing power of pensions received by old people should take place as soon as possible. The pensions of younger retired persons should be taken care of within the foreseeable future.

I trust that by presenting these few issues I was able to convey a sense of why I feel that it would be timely to provide a regular periodic and systematic review of our socialist achievements, and to clarify erroneous ideas that evolved within various strata of society regarding these issues. In our progress, we are able to achieve societal consensus only if and when we argue against erroneous views, and try to respond to questions that emerged in the course of development. Although this is not a simple task amid our present, complicated economic circumstances, I am convinced that we can confront these challenges of our age also.

12995

CSO: 2500/422



## POPE'S VISIT REVIEWED IN PARTY DAILY

AU151941 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 87 p 3

[Commentary by Marek Jaworski: "After John Paul II's Visit to Poland--Between Cooperation and Dispute"]

[Text] One month has passed since John Paul II's third visit to Poland, so one can already permit himself to think from a certain distance, without the emotions that usually accompany an event like this. Of course, a full and final assessment is not yet possible and will not be possible for a long time, for no one knows what the long-term effects of the visit will be, or whether there will be any such effects at all, and no one knows how the emotional experiences of the faithful caused by the visit will affect their attitudes, and hence social life.

"A pastoral sowing has occurred," Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the pope's farewell ceremony. "The yield will determine, in the first place, its weight and significance--provided that it adds to Poland's prestige and contributes to national accord, better work, and everyday morality."

Any opinion about an event like this is naturally complex. It often depends on the angle from which the event is observed, on the state of mind of the observer, and on the amount of information and powers of observation the observer has at his disposal. However, everyone tries to perform such a faulty judgment, if only for his own personal interests. A certain number of such individual subjective opinions may provide a useful indicator. The day after the pope's departure, the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] carried out a poll, to the results of which we will later refer.

On the government side, a preliminary assessment of the pope's visit was contained in the extensive report presented in the Sejm by Minister Wladyslaw Loranc. The Polish Episcopate has also spoken out on this subject.

One can find many views in common in all these assessments. What is common most of all is the conviction that the pope's week-long pilgrimage not only supplied a profound religious experience for the Catholic population, but also enriched the civic and patriotic sentiments of many Poles, and that a further improvement in church-state relations has occurred because of it. And convergent aims between the pope and the state authorities appeared concerning

many important issues, such as world peace, work ethics, society's morality, the bonds joining emigre Poles to their country, the role and tasks of young people, and the significance of the family as the basic cell of society.

Cooperation between the church and the state was enriched with further positive experience during the preparations for the visit and during the visit itself, and those taking part in it thought very highly of the work of the forces of order, both church and state. Some 76.5 percent of the respondents in the poll believed that as far as organization was concerned, the authorities had done "everything they ought to have done." Only 6 percent thought they had done too little or had paid too much attention to the visit.

This visit has provided a new impulse to dialogue between the church and the authorities. As Minister Loranc said, this dialogue is understood better today. One can tell that it is better understood on both sides.

Of course, the pope's visit was primarily pastoral in nature. It is not for us to speak on this subject; all one can say is that every fifth person polled by CBOS criticized the behavior of some people who welcomed the pope and had doubts about the depth of people's religious experience ("too little faith, too much celebrating"). Without the slightest hesitation, the faithful received the pope the way they wanted to, and knew how to receive him.

As we know, the visit also possessed a broader dimension. It had social and political significance. Numerous sermons by John Paul II directly or indirectly concerned both the historical and the modern experiences of the Polish people and their past, present, and future.

Every Pole must have accorded respect and recognition to all of Karol Wojtyla's expressions of patriotic commitment concerning the fatherland, his firm emphasis on the need to serve the people and Poland, his frequent reminders of our national martyrdom during the law war, and his understanding of the cause of peace. His presence at Majdanek [a concentration camp], Westerplatte [where the Germans fired the first shots against Poland], Szczecin, and Gdansk was significant. The beatification of Bishop Michal Koziol, an inmate of Dachau, possessed an obvious message.

Also worthy of recognition is the pope's acknowledgement of the positive changes in our country, for instance the following words which he spoke during his farewell at Warsaw airport: "I have seen that despite the difficulties, this country is growing and developing, and that man is growing in it and his faith, culture, feeling of responsibility, and maturity are growing."

The pope's words encourage various thoughts. For example, he approached the capital issue of work with all due seriousness. Speaking about the importance of the process of imparting a full personal and social dimension to work, he said that this is an important stage, "important for various milieus and various regions of the modern world." He continued by saying that this issue "is understood less in countries that have prosperity, which reaches to the very limits of communist abuse. But it is understood wherever the problem of

work remains at the basis of authentic progress and human liberation." It is worth noting and emphasizing John Paul II's statement whereby authentic social progress and human liberation are not inherited features of "countries with prosperity," which should be taken to mean the highly industrialized countries of the West that have established their economic success while paying homage to or values that are far removed from humanitarian ones. This is very interesting food for thought...

The head of the Roman Catholic Church came to Poland chiefly in order to consolidate the principles of the Catholic world outlook, the church's social doctrine, and the philosophical basis of faith in the minds of society. These differ from the principled precepts of Marxist philosophy, which forms the basis and program of action of the PZPR, which in turn steers the fortunes of the PPR. Some Western commentators attempted to create a sensation out of the differences between these two philosophies, which no one is trying to erase. This was stupid and funny. It is not only the head of the church and not only rank-and-file priests who have the right to emphasize these differences, but also any Catholic--as well as any Marxist, atheist, or agnostic.

In fact, it is remarkable that there was no sign of these differences during this and the previous visits. One has to admit that despite the philosophical and ideological dispute between Catholicism and Marxism, political coexistence between the church and socialism and joint cooperation between the church and state on a social and educational-moral level are possible in Poland, a country with a pluralistic and tolerant world outlook.

There is one more reflection I would like to share with the reader against this background. In his sermons John Paul II did not avoid the idea of solidarity, which according to some rather slow-witted Western journalists ought to have an explosive effect in our country. They were bitterly disappointed.

As we know, the idea of solidarity is deeply rooted in the traditions and language of the international workers movement in which it has a clear class connotation. In an indirect way the pope took issue with this class understanding of the idea of solidarity by contrasting it with his general philosophical understanding of the idea--the opposite of the idea of strife. However, on this occasion the pope did not limit himself to repeating the theses of social solidarity that are known from church doctrine--ideas with which Marxists disagree--but gave the question a broader dimension. Speaking at a meeting in Gdynia, John Paul II said: "Solidarity must come before strife." In doing so he was calling for the global solidarity of all the human race. He asked: "Can the world continue and exist amidst growing conflicts between West and East? Between North and South? (...) In today's world we cannot move further forward driven on by the imperative of an ever spiralling stock of arms because this means a prospect of wars and self-destruction.

This direction of John Paul II's thoughts clearly failed to gain recognition in the eyes of Western commentators, and so they preferred to pass this over

in silence. It shattered their image of the "militant pope" who will provide ammunition against the communist authorities. Nor could they understand that the slogans of social solidarity voiced by the pope do not arouse any deep emotion in anyone in Poland because they did not take note of the fact that hostile classes do not exist under socialism, which is not the case in states that belong to the capitalist system.

The West remained deaf to similar ideas put forward by the pope. Neither mankind's solidarity in efforts to survive without wars and arms nor solidarity based on a feeling of social justice are ideas deemed worthy of support in the West. These ought to be left up to the socialist countries of the East. Western propagandists simply wrote that in speaking about solidarity the pope was speaking about Solidarity. Who will claim the truth?

In Poland John Paul II was listened to by everyone with very great attention, including those who do not share his various opinions and have a different idea of the country's future development. That is why we speak about a profounder understanding of dialogue, about its prospects for the future. In his speeches the pope raised a whole series of real problems that can and ought to be the subject of dialogue, an extensive social dialogue in which the church is one of the participants.

The political underground wanted to use the pope's presence in Poland and the religious ceremonies that attracted large crowds to publicly demonstrate its existence. However, the isolated attempts to stage street demonstrations were unsuccessful. What is more, they elicited a decidedly negative reaction from public opinion. According to the results of a poll conducted by the CBOS, 5 percent of respondents expressed support for them, whereas almost 63 percent of respondents disapproved of them. Almost 50 percent considered these incidents to be ordinary acts of hooliganism, and 32 percent expressed the view that "severe punishments ought to be imposed." In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of those polled, these incidents had no greater political or social significance, only 6 percent expressed fears that the incidents may mar relations between the state and the church.

As for the consequences of the pope's visit, 86 percent agreed that it had increased world interest in Poland; 78 percent agreed that it would contribute to an increase in religious feeling and religious practices; 75 percent agreed that it would have a beneficial effect on relations between the state and the church; 67 percent agreed that it would cause an increase in patriotism; 50 percent agreed that it would speed up agreement among most Poles about issues of the greatest importance; 47 percent agreed that it would diminish domestic conflicts; 42 percent agreed that it would help improve relations with the West; and 15 percent agreed that it would lead to greater activity on the part of the political underground. Time will show which of these expectations will be satisfied and to what extent they will be satisfied.

John Paul II did not come to Poland as an advocate of political and social national reconciliation in the sense in which he undertook his last pilgrimage to the countries of Latin America. However, such intentions were not entirely



absent, as is attested to by the telegram sent from on board his plane on his departure: "In the spirit of uniting love I reiterate my heartfelt wishes that my ministration may become a contribution to the creation of this great good called Poland." The results of the CBOS poll cited above show that almost a half of all Poles believe that these intentions will be successful.

One thing is certain today: John Paul II's third trip to Poland has strengthened the line of cooperation between believers and non-believers and has deepened the sense of their joint efforts to overcome existing political, social, and economic difficulties. It has fulfilled the religious expectations of the church and the faithful. It did not result in any clash with the expectations of the state authorities. If anyone was disappointed it was only those extremist political opponents for whom it brought no tangible benefits, and those political centers in the West who counted on it contributing to a deepening of political and social divisions in our country, and therefore weakening Poland.

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CSO: 2600/726

## KOK 'PATRIOTISM' TASK FORCE STEPS UP PUBLIC EDUCATION DRIVE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Jul 87 pp 1,5

[Article by (sw): "Civic Education is a Special Concern"]

[Text] The formation of the Taskforce for the Patriotic-Defense Education of the Society under the Committee for National Defense (KOK) has breathed a greatly reviving spirit into this issue. The dominant concern is for more effective action, for refining its ways and means, and for exploring new solutions. These highly essential problems also were the subject of a meeting held on 2 Jul 87 by a working group of that taskforce dealing with the activities of youth unions and public organizations. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

The meeting, held at the seat of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), was also attended by the Director of the Political-Organizational Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski, the Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army and Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate Brigade General Prof Dr Leslaw Wojtasik, and representatives of the Youth Office under the Office of the Council of Ministers, directors of youth organizations, LOK, OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades], and the Institute for Research Into Problems of Youth.

In his opening address PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla discussed several basic directions of activity to promote patriotic-defense education, which youth unions and public organizations should approach with special concern in their goals. They include: broadly conceived historical education, fostering respect for work, helping to eliminate manifestations of social pathology, organizing mass sports, and lastly fostering the prestige and importance of military service, which should be perceived as not only representing the defense might of the state and nation but also harboring other values essential to the life of the society.

Historical education indisputably is a major factor in patriotic-defense education, especially that of youth. Thorough familiarity with historical topics and the Nation's past is the best bond rallying the society round the achievements of past generations and a behest for defending these achievements and caring for their multiplication. Hence also, historical education, viewed

in the context of patriotic-defense education, should be promoted by all the latest achievements of technology, whether printing or the cinema or video technology. As for subjects to be considered, these abound. After all, Poland is one great national memorial area.

This fact bids paying attention to utilizing not only the mass media but also many other forms, such as historical excursions and rallies, which not only are good tourism and promote knowledge of one's native land but also foster respect for memorial sites and national symbols. Tourism should also serve to deepen respect for and protection of our native land and environment. And lastly there is the suggestion that attention be paid to the traditions of the Polish youth movement. Referring to the names of youth activists who may be known only locally or regionally but who deserve mention and provide role models also is a good idea.

A particularly important element of patriotic-defense education of youth at the moment is the unremitting effort to cause youth to acquire respect for work. Combatting the cult of mediocrity, supporting inventors and innovators, and popularizing and preferring the movement for shock work and labor competition--in, of course, their new forms consonant with the economic reform -- are absolutely necessary and most effective measures, let alone the need for a drive for economic education serving as a basis for new and good organizational solutions.

In this context, the important role of the army, of military service, is evident. In many domains of technology the army is the motive power of progress, and youth -- and through youth, the national economy -- avails itself of this favorable circumstance. Popularizing this idea requires abandoning the presentation of a romantic-parade ground image of our armed forces in favor of showing their actual image, their daily activities, which consist of difficult service and arduous work, and which are decisive to the army's authority.

The discussion confirmed the validity of the decision to focus activities in behalf of patriotic-defense education on the five main directions presented above. The attending members of the working group for youth unions and public organizations under the KOK declared their readiness to intensify their efforts to promote the high quality and effectiveness of the related organizational measures.

1386  
CSO: 2600/714

## OLSZTYN PZPR NOTES INCREASED YOUTH MEMBERSHIP

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 4 Jun 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by (MK): "Youth Are Entering the Party -- A Membership Card Obligates"]

[Text] "Among you are workers and teachers, engineers and technicians, people who have just started their careers and those with many years of experience. You represent almost all professions found in Olsztyn and in sum, you are the youngest group of people who joined the party in 1986 and 1987".

With these words, the first secretary of the Olsztyn Municipal PZPR Committee, Stefan Strumillo, greeted a group of more than 70 persons to a ceremony awarding party membership and candidate cards. The meeting took place in the conference hall of the provincial PZPR committee headquarters but the scenery was different from that found during working conferences or plenary meetings. The young candidates sat at tables arranged in a rectangle with a vase of flowers. For certain, the young candidates and members will long remember such a moment.

"We have seen years," said Stefan Strumillo, "in which party membership cards were more often turned in than received. The situation has now changed and more young people are themselves deciding to join the ranks of the PZPR. The Olsztyn party organization has 10,402 members and candidates and nearly 10 percent of these are young people who have joined over the last three years.

"You know that the party does not offer any privileges except satisfaction in what you are doing for your place of employment, your community and your country. We can however say that the party does give rights and duties to specific individuals. We expect you to be active members because you are joining the party at a hard time. We do not want artificial activity but work to resolve all of the problems important to our country".

This is the first time in quite a while that party membership cards have been awarded in such a ceremonial fashion so it comes as no surprise that the 10 POP [basic party organization] secretaries who contributed most to the growth



of the party ranks were also invited. Scores of candidates joined many of these POP's such as the Poultry Packing Plants, the Automotive Postal Service Enterprise [PTSL], the OPPD "Las" and OZOS. These comrades also received letters of congratulations.

However, new candidates and members first received their cards from First Secretary of the Provincial PZPR Committee Tadeusz Jelski and First Secretary of the PZPR Municipal Committee Stefan Strumillo.

Congratulating everyone, Tadeusz Strumillo said:

"Membership in the party that guides and leads our society and state entails certain responsibilities. A party membership card obligates us to make an extra effort and behave in a dignified manner wherever we are. We must make a record of our membership. It also gives us the right to change whatever is in conflict with social norms and morals and to take action wherever things are not as they should be. We expect you young comrades to strengthen our provincial organization. We count on your fresh outlook, criticism and courage in action. In the name of the provincial organization, I wish all of you here satisfaction in your party activities".

After the ceremony, we asked four of those attending to share their reflections with us.

Maria Sawko, first secretary of the POP at PTSL: "I have been a party member since 1963. In the course of three years, our organization accepted 11 candidates. Why did they join the party? They simply felt that they could do the right things within the PZPR. More and more people are coming to us without any special talks. We have also rejected other people because of their poor work records or other reasons. We now see that the party commands more respect because people are coming to us for advice or help".

Krystyna Klimek, PTSL: "I have received my membership card. They even reduced my period of candidate membership because of my good work as my trade union's treasurer. I joined the party because I do not see why I should stand on the sidelines when so many others already are. After all, one can do much more than he or she is commonly expected to do".

Tadeusz Golczak, driver at PTSL: "I joined the PZPR on 1 September 1985. The party secretary told us today that there was a time in which more membership cards were being returned than awarded. The climate now has changed. I myself decided to join because I did not want to just passively watch what others were doing".

Andrzej Bartoszewicz, secretary of the PZPR school committee at the Agricultural Technical Academy: "In terms of the number of young scholars and students joining the party, the situation at our school is not the best. This is a general problem throughout Poland although it is somewhat better for us. For example, we have 1300 members of the Polish University Student

Association, nearly 200 members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and more than 100 Union of Rural Youth members. Having until recently been the secretary of the POP at the Constitution Department, I tried to get the activists of these organizations to join the party. This can usually be accomplished through long-term conversations and we have already been seeing the results. Recently, we gained 10 new party members and I hope that in June, another 5 students will join. It does not seem as if the problem is getting these young people to join the party but rather in getting them to see their own presence in the party. Therefore, to avoid turning off young people, the party's activities must be made visible and its meetings as attractive as possible.

12261

CSO: 2600/702

## CONTROL-AUDIT COMMISSION ON PZPR MEMBERSHIP QUALITY

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 1 Jun 87 p 2

[Excerpts from a speech by Zbigniew Brunke, chairman of the Gdansk Provincial Audit-Review Commission: "Need for Radical Changes"]

[Text] Generally speaking, evaluations of management personnel are dominated by the conviction that the basis for party punishment or withdrawal of a party recommendation must be actions punishable by law but the party cannot concentrate solely on what has been done badly, ruined or destroyed but on which of its resolutions have not been carried out and why.

I have brought up this problem because we must often deal with POP [basic party organization] rejection of control-audit commission rulings, especially when they concern the removal of party recommendation. And this is not a matter of their using their statutory right to deny punishment because such moves creates a bad mood among other organizations, trade unions and worker councils which register their complaints by writing petitions to party instances and other organs. After all, at this stage, these are typically interparty decisions between party members at a specific level of party authority. I wish to emphasize that in our practice, we always seek the opinions of the POP's whether or not we accept their evaluations.

I often have to deal with attempts to violate the statutory requirement to resign from a position if a recommendation has been withdrawn.

The Provincial Audit-Review Commission has chiefly reacted to directorial personnel and these reactions have concerned the lack of proper supervision, the allowance of poor product quality, losses caused by poor management and use of one's position and influence for personal enrichment.

From confirmed complaints, we have learned that we are seeing a rebirth of certain negative attitudes among our comrades in positions of leadership. Especially alarming are greed, the cult of money and especially of western money, involvement in private money-making initiatives and foreign trips in spite of management responsibilities at home.

We also have to deal with these sort of problems in marine industries. The adopted sanctions have not everywhere had the desired effects. Perhaps amnesties and discontinuance are irrelevant because in many cases, the only sanctions were the party's.

Let me remind you of past years' party punishments (including expulsion) and personnel decisions on the management of enterprises like Navimor, Budimor, Centromor, Polish Ocean Lines and the Polish Register of Ships.

I think that not all POP's and founder's organs have drawn the correct conclusions from this. Maybe that is why these comrades are doing not so bad for themselves now in new jobs. Thanks to good connections with the directors of many state enterprises, their earnings are very high.

Some people see reform in the following manner: "Let's cheat each other and let's cheat the socialist state because we and maybe even our plant will then make a big profit". Without ambition and ideologically-committed personnel, there can be no socialist [illegible]. By this I do not mean that we do not have committed people in the marine economy of our province but that some attitudes are quite alarming and this was something that the report emphasized.

There is an especially dubious trend for foreign travel, not only on contract but also work-related trips for various establishments, plants, international organizations, partnerships, etc.

This leads one to wonder if we do not have too many of these great foreign contacts. Rather than send off our best specialists, should we not consider our own factories and institutions in order to improve quality, better use our production potential, modernize production and stop looking around for cooperative producers? Maybe we could then sell our products easier and for better profits. No one wants to buy trash, especially if it is foreign trash.

I think that the basis for realization of the 3rd Central Committee Plenum's instructions on marine economy in our economy is our personnel and the workers' faith in them. At the present time, the tolerant attitude of some founder's organs and committees as well as the inactivation of new reserves of young personnel have become a serious obstruction to the acceleration of qualitative changes.

Therefore, on the basis of existing preferences, if we want for marine economy to become a meaningful factor in our country (and it should), we must make radical personnel changes and provide relative stability in managerial posts instead of allowing such personnel to do foreign contract work after a year or two on the job.

Lack of decisiveness and liberal attitudes have already cost us much.

12261

CSO: 2600/702

## PRESS LAW GUARANTEES, RIGHT TO CRITICIZE REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jun 87 p 4

[Interview with Adam Dunalewicz, deputy government spokesman, director of Government Press Office, by Zbigniew Lentowicz: "Openness Is Not a Mere Gesture of the Government"]

[Text] [Question] In the light of historical experiences, we should see a significant and meaningful event in the formulation at the start of the 1980's and under conditions of a harsh economic, social and political crisis of an active information policy which was based on the principle of "government working before an open curtain".

[Answer] We can say today that this was no mere gesture. After all, the government's general intention was to inform society about its work, decisions and the reasons for those decisions and to more broadly consider public opinion in its decision-making and efforts to improve our work. This is also a response to citizens who want to know what the government is doing and why and in that manner participate in public life.

An active information policy was sanctioned by a resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress which stated that "in order to be able to earnestly inform public opinion, it is necessary to provide journalists almost guaranteed access to necessary information and the full right to publish critical and polemical materials". Therefore, to achieve a closer relationship between government actions and public opinion, the government took specific steps. As early as in July 1983, the Council of Ministers ordered supreme, central and regional organs of state government to use the press the constantly present, explain and justify government policy. It also recommended that spokesmen be given high positions and be made directly subordinate to ministers and voivodeship governors.

[Question] The permanence of the principles of the government's active information policy was confirmed on 3 June at the 1st Congress of the SD when the Wojciech Jaruzelski, then chairman of the Council of Ministers, stated that "ministers and chairmen, directors and state officials do not have any



reason to not inform journalists about anything not subject to official secrecy. We will break down resistance to criticism and the recurring barriers to information". Soon after these words were said, specific legal measures were taken.

[Answer] The "press law" was based on two important principles: the responsibility of government organs and other state institutions to inform the press and the duty of these same organs and institutions to answer press criticism. Executive decrees on the law have given these principles a concrete form and created a coherent organizational and legal system that makes it possible to for all organs of state government in Poland to practice an active information policy. It has become a legal responsibility to inform the press.

Establishment directors are also expected to allow journalists to contact their employees and to freely gather information and opinions from them. All of this information should be full, serious and current which means that any difficulties or shortcomings cannot be left out. We also want for bureaus and institutes to contact the press on their own initiative and inform them about their work to the extent that the public is interested in it.

[Question] The "press law" also confirmed the press's right to criticism.

[Answer] In exercising this right, the press is expected to really present issues of interest to the public and state. By placing great importance on criticism, the press law has made state organs responsible for answering press criticism. Press criticism must serve to eliminate shortcomings and to help make action more efficient.

[Question] Therefore, that is the intention of the information policy.

[Answer] Yes. The responsibility for sharing information with the press and to answer criticism is not anything other than the realization of the public's right to "be informed" as to what is happening in our country and why and as to how negative phenomena are being eliminated. This also makes it possible for citizens to participate in public life.

12261

CSO: 2600/704

## FOURTH PLENUM INNOVATION IN HANDLING INTERNAL PARTY STRIFE

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 22, 29 May 87 p 5

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "To Want and Do More"]

[Text] Our historical experience has shown us that almost from its very beginnings, the worker's movement was accompanied by a sharp and sometimes even tragic struggle within the party for the party. The fight was for the party's unity, purity of ranks, ethical and ideological honesty, influence over society and to prevent ossification in the struggle against alien views and concepts.

Nothing has ever been given us for good nor in a ready and satisfactory form. The history of the Polish (and not on the Polish) revolutionary movement boasts of a long list of successes but also has its setbacks and regressions. We have seen wise and far-sighted answers to the challenges of the times and circumstances but also glaring mistakes and errors that have for long years undermined its place in the political system. The conditions and situations within the movement as well as external circumstances have sometimes favored the growth of the party and at other times hindered it. Likewise, over the 43 years that the Polish People's Republic has existed, aside from the opportunities, the greatest of which were simply the revolutionary changes and social advancement of our country, there also existed factors that sometimes drastically hindered the formation of an ideal party model. Centralistic-bureaucratic tendencies manifested as governmental distortions causing political tensions and crises have left their mark on the image of the party.

Therefore, as long as we are taking a historical point of view, we must ask whether the party as a political movement in Poland now enjoys favorable possibilities and opportunities for growth? Is the latest period of struggle for the party which started with the 9th Extraordinary Congress marked by favorable conditions for evolution into the right direction, that is, the full realization of Leninist ideas and norms? Can we find the answer to this fundamental question in the part of this struggle represented by the 4th Central Committee Plenum?

The party is subject to the general laws of sociology and psychology and the shock that it experienced in the first half of the 1980's due to public protest against the distortions brought it to the most critical self-reflection in its history. It became the necessary prerequisite to real rather than cosmetic or tactical changes and reforms, also within the party itself. Therefore, the continuing strong will to repair, renew and take a new path is a great opportunity. This will is accompanied by a sense of political realism that strongly contrasts with the doctrinaire attitudes of the 1950's or the mythomania of the 1970's. And that in itself is another trump but it has been weakened because we must still deal with the public's post-crisis state of mind. Some even talk about a post-crisis mentality which is characterized not only by recent resentments but also by new ones, by today's not always pleasant sensations that give people a fear of anything new or unfamiliar, all the more so as it not only has some of the features of an experiment but is also a hard uphill march. As a process of healing the economy, economic reform is also the healing of wounds. Any medical treatment can be painful and as the organism returns to health, it can undergo states of collapse and weakened resistance. This diversity of sensations has its "psychological burden" in the case of the leading and guiding forces of society such as the party and especially the party's basic echelons. Therefore, the awareness of the need to strengthen the party's foundations, that is, the POP's, especially among worker groups, and to adapt them to the new conditions is both an outgrowth of the role of the "grass roots" party as well as a shortcoming of this action. It offers not only many opportunities but also quite a few problems. We must therefore know that the party has had a bureaucratic-centralistic model for many years. In this model, everything "important" was shifted upwards or originated at the top and that sentenced the social movement to limited action and decay. The weakness of many basic party organizations [POP] today also has its objective causes, above all in the many long years of bureaucracy in the entire political movement. If that is true, then democratization, decentralization and reform are a real opportunity for the reverse process of strengthening and revitalizing this movement from its roots upward.

I think that this can be considered the guiding principle of the 4th Central Committee Plenum. Although it would be hard to expect ready prescriptions for such an extensive process as the changes taking place within the party, the value of the plenum's two days of debate lies in how aware we are of its significance and also its necessity. According to the dictates of praxeology, the prerequisite to success is a correct knowledge of present conditions. Therefore, the chief success of this plenum and its preceding activities lies in the values of its diagnoses.

The plenum's diagnosis advanced three key problems requiring long-term work. The first of these is the POP's place within the community or in other words, the kinds of ties it has to non-party members. The second is the place that the party member holds within the basic organization (the sense of responsibilities of party membership) and the third is the place that the POP



takes within the party as a whole or the relationships between the POP's and the party apparatus.

In this respect, the findings have not been too inspiring. According to studies conducted in October 1986 by the Center for Public Opinion Research [CBOS], 34.8 percent of the respondents had no opinion about the party organization at their place of employment. Letter and complaints to party organizations also brought up many issues not noticed by the local organizations. Neglect and faults in the functioning of bureaus and institutions could be (but are usually not) an important and fruitful field for the activity of party organizations and members. One often hears the expression "if the party organizations had intervened in time" and the use of that expression is a measure of the need as much as it is a sign of discouragement. The party is not only a political structure but also a potentially dynamic force of 2,133,000 PZPR members and candidates in nearly 97,000 POP's. It can animate and reinforce beneficial growth processes and create proper attitudes and public behavior. The emanation of these values is possible when the life within the party is based on high values. Meanwhile, according to the first indicator, the efficiency of POP activity leaves much to be desired. The plenum noted that both the theory and practice of efficient party work have still not become a matter of interest to the respondents and no reports on the issue have been prepared. After all, what is needed is not only scientific analysis of social processes (and we have at least taken the first step in that direction with the Kubiak Report) but also specific political and outright practical measures. The stumbling block here is that party practice is still dominated by generalized criteria and evaluations that seem more like wishful thinking than any real measure of reality. To be frank, we can see just how deeply we have become enslaved to stereotypes and tattered slogans in the fact that the 4th Plenum also issued numerous statements such as "further progress was achieved", "we have still not entirely overcome old problems" and "instructions have not been followed well enough". Avoidance of quantitative standards of measurement and the use of quantifiers such as "still" and expressions like "we have to", "we should" or "we must" in place of naming specific tasks for specific persons all prove that our party work is still inefficient. Effectiveness means being specific and efficient and achieving tangible results. These characteristics are usually totally unverifiable as long as we rely on generalized language and imprecise tools of action. And finally, there is the role of the POP's within the party structure. The ideal for which we are striving is for the POP's to take the role of public opinion spokesman and as a critic of the government and especially of the party leadership. There exists here a continuous danger of so-called closed circulation in which ideas or slogans advanced at the top of the hierarchy are only superficially popularized. They later begin to be repeated as if they were the voice of the rank and file and come to convince the party leadership that the party is united in its views and actions. Meanwhile, with unclosed or open circulation, more authentic opinions come from both the leadership and the rank and file.

The results of studies of the functioning of basic party organizations were presented at the 4th Plenum and confirm the fact that an obsolete model of the party still persists. One sign of that was the avoidance of all important community problems, especially in the case of conflicts (such as conflicts over wages and promotions). The POP's are accustomed to waiting for instructions from above and if they fail to receive them, they put off any decision, especially when the case is a difficult one. Sometimes, this leads to a landslide of tasks (very generalized ones) given the POP's by higher party authorities in order to stimulate greater activity. However, excessive task-setting initiative on the part of the higher organizations weakens POP responsibility for the programs and activities in their communities.

The plenum was a case of a new approach to the problems of party work. That approach had many authors and was also established by means of polls, interviews and studies conducted over all of Poland over the span of several months. Taking part in the discussions of the Politburo Themes were not only the POP's to whom these themes were addressed but also numerous and competent participants of theoretical conferences and the participants of a sociological questionnaire for nearly 3000 POP secretaries. Therefore, they looked deeply into the living tissue of the party to find answers to the question repeated for many weeks by TRYBUNA LUDU, the Central Committee's press organ: "What must we do for our POP's to want and be able to do more?". Although this question concerns the lowest levels of the party, it is also levelled at the party as a whole. It is really trite to say that the answer will be found not only in discussion but also in practice. However, it is worth adding that well-oriented and extensive action should be preceded by thought. Changes are always a sign of struggle for new forms of life in the realms of thought and action. One can say that this will strengthen the party's conviction that it is no longer enough to achieve changes on a small scale.

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 25 MAY - 7 JUNE 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 17 Jun 87 p 21

[Text] 25 May - 7 June 1987

2 June. The Politburo:

-- reviewed information on the public's living conditions and ways in which they can be improved;

-- learned about the Polish National Bank's proposals for actions to be taken during the reform stage II to strengthen the currency as well as the draft for a reform of the banking system;

-- received information about the 7th National Conference of Worker's Self-Management.

The Politburo fully approved the actions of the Polish delegation under Wojciech Jaruzelski during the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Committee.

#### Conferences and Meetings

25 May. In Warsaw, there was a training conference for the directors of the personnel departments in the provincial party committees. The conference was led by the director of the Central Committee Personnel Policy Department, Wladyslaw Honkisz.

26 May. The following Politburo members and the Central Committee Secretariat met with party organizations and the employees of institutions and factories to discuss the 4th Central Committee Plenum:

-- First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Janusz Kubasiewicz at the Cerad Radio Ceramics Plant in Warsaw;

-- Premier Zbigniew Messner at the Warsaw Polfa Pharmaceutical Works;

- Kazimierz Barcikowski at the [illegible] farming region;
- Jozef Baryla at the Boleslaw Bierut Steel Mills in Czestochowa;
- Jozef Czyrek at the Syrena Shoe Factory in Mlawa;
- Jan Glowczyk at a branch department in Piotrkow Trybunalski of the Kielce Higher School of Pedagogy;
- Zygmunt Muranski at the Agricultural Circle's Cooperative in Kobelice and the Agricultural Production Cooperative in Golasowice;
- Marian Orzechowski in the Elevator Equipment factory in Minsk Mazowiecki;
- Tadeusz Porebski at the Unitra-Cemat electrical materials science and production center in Warsaw;
- Zofia Stepien at the Czestochowa Construction and Mining Machinery Works;
- Stanislaw Bejger at Unimor in Gdansk;
- Zbigniew Michalek at the Institute of Horticulture and Flower and Vegetable Gardening in Skierniewice;
- Gabriela Rembisz at the Defenders of Peace Cotton Plants in Lodz;
- Kazimierz Cypryniak at communities affected by flooding in Tarnow Province;
- Henryk Bednarski at Metron in Torun;
- Andrzej Wasilewski at "Polish Recordings" in Warsaw.

26 May. The Central Committee Commission on Public Complaints, Letters and Warnings under its chairman, Politburo member Alfred Miodowicz, met in Wroclaw where it reviewed the actions of that city's municipal authorities aimed at making life easier for city residents. Deputy Politburo member Gabriela Rembisz was also present.

Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with the chairmen of party social sciences groups of the Central Committee's Department of Science, Education and Scientific-Technical Progress and the department's director, Boguslaw Kedzia.

The "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House held an awards ceremony which was also attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk, Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the



Warsaw PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz and the director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, Jozef Barecki.

At the PZPR Central Committee headquarters, a group of employees from the Worker's Cooperative Publishing House received state awards in honor of the 40th anniversary of the cooperative.

On the occasion of "Cultural Activist's Day" in Jablonno near Warsaw, Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski met with cultural activists from all over Poland.

29 May. In Berlin, a two-day session of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Council ended. Poland was represented by: Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR and chairman of the Council of State; Zbigniew Messner, Politburo member and premier; Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and foreign affairs minister; and Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and defense minister.

In honor of the 70th anniversary of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, the editors met with Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

1 June. Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from Pietras Griskiewiczzius, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Also present at this meeting were: Mieczyslaw Sadowski, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; Jozef Baryla and Jozef Czyrek, Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries; Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee Political Organization Department; Ernest Kucza, director of the Central Committee Foreign Department; Wladyslaw Jonkisz, member of the Council of State; and Vladimir Brovikov, Soviet ambassador.

A ceremony was held in which Ludwik Warynski awards were given out by Jan Glowczyk, the chairman of the award jury, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

2 June. First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from Werner Feife, head of an agricultural delegation of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek was also present at the meeting along with Horst Neubauer, the German Democratic Republic's ambassador to Poland.

There was a seminar of the first secretaries of basic party organizations [POP]] at research and development establishments and the first secretaries of factory committees which was also attended by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.



3 June. In Warsaw, there was a meeting with the management of the ministries of education, higher education, the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army and youth organizations. The meeting was dedicated to setting tasks in the patriotic and defense training of youth. These tasks were defined in a speech by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla. Also present was Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

In Serock near Warsaw, there was a seminar of provincial party committee secretaries on the problems of science and education and the realization of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 24th Central Committee Plenum in schools and higher schools. The meeting was chaired by the director of the Department of Science, Education and Scientific and Technical Progress, Boguslaw Kedzia, and was also attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

5 June. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla received a visit from Brigadier General Marko Negovanovic who is in Poland at the head of a delegation from the Political Directorate of the Yugoslavian People's Army.

6 June. There was a meeting between Central Committee First Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and the acting secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and premier of the Chinese People's Republic Council of State, Xiao Xiyang. Poland was represented by Politburo members Zbigniew messner, Jozef Czyrek, Marian Wozniak and Marian Orzechowski and by Central Committee department directors Boguslaw Kolodziejczak and Ernest Kucza.

7 June. Central ceremonies honoring People's Day were held in Zamosc. Speeches were given by Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee Roman Malinowski and Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

#### In Party Instances and Organizations

28 May. Improvement of the style and methods of the work of POP's was discussed by the Zamosc Provincial PZPR Committee. Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak took part in this meeting.

30 May. The Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the economic tasks of the Gdansk seacoast region for the realization of stage II of economic reform. The meeting was chaired by Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger.

The Kalisz Provincial PZPR Committee defined the role and tasks of culture in the cultivation of a socialist social awareness in the region.

The Lublin Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of party instances, organizations and members in strengthening the socialist education of youth.

The Olsztyn Provincial PZPR Committee defined the role of POP's in rural areas and the tasks of party members at their places of residence. The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

4 June. The Lodz PZPR Committee discussed the place and role of POP's in the social and political life of Greater Lodz.

The Ostroleka Provincial PZPR Committee discussed conditions and mechanisms for efficient POP activity.

The Szczecin Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated public services in the province.

5 June. The Sieradz Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of party instances and organizations in improving the activities of trade unions and worker self-management and the realization of the resolution of the 3rd Central Committee Plenum. This meeting was attended by Politburo Member and OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz.

6 June. At an out-of-town meeting at Stalowa Wola, the Tarnobrzeg Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated the qualitative changes that have taken place in the province's economy since the 3rd Central Committee Plenum.

#### Inter-Party Cooperation

28 May. Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek met with a visiting delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia under Deputy Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Pitra. The meeting was also attended by the director of the PZPR Central Committee Agricultural Department, Kazimierz Grzesiak, and the minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy, Stanislaw Zieba.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Secretary F. Pitra visited Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

25-29 May. The Soviet Union was visited by a delegation of the Central Audits and Review Commission under its chairman, Politburo Member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyshczak. The delegation met with Mikhail Solomenets, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ivan Kapitanov, chairman of the Central Committee Party Audit Committee. During their visit to Estonia, the members of the delegation met First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, Karl Vajno.

29 May. A delegation from the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department under the deputy director of this department, Mirosław Slowinski, ended its four-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

22-29 May.

Poland was visited by a delegation of Communist Party of Cuba's Central Committee under the director of the committee's Health Department, Mario Acevedo Martinez. The delegation was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski. Also present was the director of the Central Committee Social-Professional Department, Maciej Lubczynski and the Cuban ambassador, Mora Diaz.

22-30 May. Poland was visited by a study delegation of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party under Deputy Central Committee Member Pak Bon Dzu.

1 June. The 9th Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party ended in Lima. Jorge del Prado was re-elected secretary general. The PZPR was represented at the congress by Central Committee Member Professor Zdzislaw Cackowski.

2 June. The USSR was visited by a working group of the PZPR Central Committee Political Organization Department under its deputy director, Professor Janusz Zemke and Prorector of the Social Sciences Academy Professor Bronislaw Ratus. During conversations at the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee and with the rector of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, the formation of Polish party cadres during the 1987-88 academic year was discussed.

26 May - 2 June. At the invitation of RENMIN RIHAO, a TRYBUNA LUDU delegation under Chief Editor Jerzy Majka visited the Chinese People's Republic. The delegation was received by a member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee, Hu Qhi.

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## JOURNALISTS SURVEY ON ACCESS TO INFORMATION RESULTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jun 87 p 4

[Unattributed article: "In the Evaluation of Journalists -- Access to Information"]

[Text] The 6th and latest meeting of the Press Council, the premier's advisory organ created in 1984 by the law of press rights, was held at the beginning of April of this year. The Council, which consists of representatives of the journalist community, press experts and publishers, evaluated the realization of this law. The results of its studies on this topic were presented by the Krakow Center for Press Studies [OBP].

Earlier, an OBP group under Docent Jerzy Serdy asked scores of chief editors and journalists to present their own opinions about the practical functioning of the right to information and criticism.

One must wonder at the fact that as much as 71.8 percent of the respondents said that it is hard for them to gain free access to information.

State-owned enterprises (responsible for 20.5 percent of the refusals to provide information) and regional organs of government (19.6 percent) were found to be least willing to share information with the press. The central government (10.7 percent of refusals of information) and law enforcement and justice organs (10.3 percent) are much more cooperative for journalists. The questionnaires show that refusals were most often caused by the need for service secrecy (29 percent) but in as much as 16.9 percent of cases, no reason at all was given for the refusal of information.

According to the study and the principle that "the lower you go, the worse things become", it is hardest to overcome the information barrier at the lowest levels of government.

There is much food for thought in the fact that 83 percent of the polled chief editors said that they had not requested notification in writing of the reasons for which their paper's journalists had been refused information

although they were previously aware of these obstructions. It is also a significant fact that the journalists themselves did not regularly inform their editors about any trouble in gaining necessary information. This shows that journalists take independent action when they are refused information as well as their poor knowledge of the new press law and its provisions on the provision of information (many journalists stated that by the time such a case is decided in the Supreme Administrative Court, the information refused is no longer of any value).

More than half (55.1 percent) of the respondents complained about the functioning of press spokesmen who they felt were becoming an additional obstruction to information rather than making access any easier. Furthermore, they also felt that the spokesmen were incompetent partners for the mass media. They also mentioned cases of harassment of journalists who were critical of the spokesmen. As a rule, they have been ignored whenever invitations were issued for press conferences.

If we look at the statements made by journalists during the last joint session of the SD Editor's Club and the Government Press Bureau on 19 March 1987, there was much agreement in the evaluation of the work of press spokesmen. Club members pointed out the problem of spokesmen not allowing the press access to the directors of enterprises and institutions, the cultivation of competition, the seizure of materials, independent writing of articles as well as the very fact that the institution of spokesman has grown to excess.

However, let us look at the results of the OBP study. These show that criticized individuals try to prevent the publication of the criticism and with various degrees of success, try to intervene either personally, through party organizations or through organs of central government. However, a greater awareness among journalists of their rights has now caused a considerable growth in the number of demands for redress and even court cases in which the plaintiffs realize their claims against journalists who have damaged their personal welfare or privacy (which are strongly protected under the provisions of the press law and civil code).

Although the OBP study results presented to the Press Council give a one-sided journalist's point of view, they cannot be received indifferently. Council members stated during the discussion that it is beyond doubt that a law, even a good one, cannot change reality. Generally speaking, the realization of the right to information depends not only on the journalist's own knowledge and efforts but most of all on the political atmosphere, government actions and its openness and willingness to open itself to public judgement. It was stressed that in the case of the latter, things are now better than ever before.

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## BRIEFS

**FIRST GDANSK CONSULTATIVE CONVENTION**--On 6 June 1987 was held the first session of the Citizens' Consultative Convention under the Chairman of the Gdansk Voivodship People's Council (WRN). On being personally invited by the WRN Chairman Wlodzimierz Zwierzykowski, the following took part in the session: Wieslaw Gruszkowski, Czeslaw Jackowiak, Mieczyslaw Kochanowski, Jerzy Kolodziejski, Henryk Koscielski, Tomasz Langer, Konstanty Leonowicz, Jan Machut, Jan Malinowski, Jacek Marecki, Jerzy Mlynarczyk, Jerzy Ringer, Andrzej Skorulski, Janusz Sokolowski, Witold Stelmach, Karol Taylor, Andrzej Twerdochlib, Piotr Wilde, and Jerzy Zablocki. Also consenting to participate in the Convention's work were: Jerzy Doerffer, Tadeusz Jednorol, Piotr Jedrzejowicz, Jerzy Knyba, and Miroslaw Masiel. During hours-long discussion the expediency of convening the Citizens' Consultative Convention was affirmed and a broad variety of problems that should be on the Convention's agenda was discussed. It was acknowledged that special emphasis should be placed on problems of national reconciliation and the performance and exercise of central and local power and the national economy, inclusive of systemic problems of implementing the economic reform. Those present voiced the need to inform the public about the Convention's work and to transmit the opinions and views expressed to the authorities and political groupings. [Text] [Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 87 p 1] 1386

**DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING**--At Kamienna Gora yesterday was held a field meeting of the Jelenia Gora Voivodship Defense Committee. The deliberations, attended by First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Jerzy Golaczynski, were chaired by Voivode Sylwester Samol. Order and discipline at the POLMATEX-DOFAMA Lower Silesian Textile Machinery Factory and the LEN Flax Industry Works were considered. Activities in behalf of protecting public property, work discipline, and adherence to the regulations governing safety and hygiene of labor as well as fire safety were analyzed in detail. [Text] [Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Jun 87 p 5] 1386

**CONSULTATIONS ON FRG RELATIONS**--Berlin, 14 July--Consultations between the Polish and GDR Ministries of Foreign Affairs were held here at the level of department heads. The consultations focused on both states' relations with the FRG and West Berlin and problems ensuing from the current policy pursued by the federal government and the Senate of West Berlin. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 14 Jul 87 LD]

**PARTY TRAINING SCHOOLS CONFERENCE--Lodz--**On 3 June there began a two-day conference of the directors and didactic personnel of party schools from all over Poland. The purpose of the conference was to work out new forms and methods of activity for provincial and interprovincial party schools. This party forum started with a meeting with the director of the Central Committee's Political Organization Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski, who discussed the chief problems of party work after the 10th Congress and the instructions of the 4th Central Committee Plenum. On the first day of the conference, aside from a report on didactic methodologies, there were also meetings of problems groups and a demonstration of the means of using the newest electronic equipment in the training of the party aktiv. Today, there will be a summary of conference results and a presentation of experiences in training work for the 1986-87 training year. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 87 p 2] 12261

**PATRIOTIC-DEFENSE TRAINING DISCUSSED--**In Warsaw on 3 June, there was a meeting of directors from the ministries of education, higher training, the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army and youth organizations. The meeting was dedicated to setting tasks for the patriotic-defense training of youth. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla discussed activities that should accompany the development of a cohesive system of youth patriotic-defense training based on resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and instructions of the chairman of the National Defense Committee. The speaker devoted much attention to the content of teaching in civics, defense training and political sciences and stated that it should include subjects such as Polish defensive doctrine and the Jaruzelski disarmament plan. In discussion, the fruitful cooperation between the army, the National Defense League and the Reserve Officer's Club and schools and youth organizations was pointed out. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski was present. [Text] [Gdansk TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 87 p 2] 12261

**CONSULTATIONS WITH LIBYA--**Warsaw, 15 Jul--Polish-Libyan political consultations were held here between July 13 and 15. The Libyan side was represented by member of the People's Committee of the office for contacts with foreign countries D. Sueydan [name as received], and the Polish side--by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski. D. Sueydan was received by Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Gen Michal Janiszewski, chairman of the Polish side of the Polish-Libyan Mixed Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation, and President of the Polish-Libyan Friendship Society Gen. T. Hupalowski. D. Sueydan also met with Foreign Trade Vice-Minister H. Floeth. The sides made a review of bilateral relations, with particular regard to economic cooperation, trade, work of Polish specialists in many branches of Libyan economy. They also exchanged views on regional and international issues. Both sides expressed desire to expand bilateral cooperation, especially in economy. The two sides came in favour of continuing dialogue and cooperation in international arena in favour of peace and detente. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1323 GMT 15 Jul 87 LD] /9599

CSO: 2600/726

## HISTORIANS CRITICIZE HUNGARIAN HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian No 6, Jun 87 pp 21-32

[Article by Dr Mircea Musat, Dr Cristian Popisteanu, Dr Florin Constantiniu, and Dr Valeriu Dobrinescu: "The Fascist Vienna Diktat--an Expression of the Policy of Force Repudiated by History"; passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] Any history of international relations written objectively and with respect for the truth says that the Vienna diktat in the summer of 1940 was an act of the policy of force and of threat with force committed by the fascist powers Germany and Italy for the benefit of Horthy's Hungary. At the same time, it represented the culmination of the entire policy followed by the Horthy regime for 2 decades.

We may seek in vain in "The History of Transylvania"--published in 1986 in Budapest under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences--a correct and objective appraisal of this odious imperialist diktat. On the contrary, the few pages on which the August 1940 Vienna "decision" is mentioned do nothing but try to convince the readers that the victim, that is, Romania, and the perpetrator, that is, Hungary, were on a par. It is also possible to find supposedly impartial evaluations such as, for instance: In the spring of 1940, "it became urgent for the Hungarian Government to again raise the Transylvania issue, especially as Romania's total affiliation with Nazi Germany was clear." To speak with such detachment means to deliberately avoid the truth about the entire Horthy policy pursuing an attack on Transylvania.

#### The Total Support of the Axis Powers

It is a well-known fact that, after the attack on Poland on 1 September 1939 and the start of World War II, the Horthy government intensified its actions for preparing, with Nazi Germany's help, for an attack on Romania for occupying Transylvania, just as with Nazi help it had annexed part of Czechoslovakia through the first Vienna "award" of 2 November 1938.

As the fascist aggression was extended to other peoples, Nazi Germany interceded more and more actively in favor of the territorial claims of Horthy's Hungary, depending, of course, on the Third Reich's political, strategic, and military interests.

At the end of June 1940, being aware of Romania's difficult situation and wanting to profit from its isolation on an international level in order to satisfy their territorial claims, the Horthy governing circles intensified their revisionist campaign against Romania. In this regard, on 27 June, in Budapest, there was a session of the Hungarian Government in which it was decided to act with every means so that Romania would be "compelled to satisfy the Hungarian territorial claims."<sup>2</sup>

Convinced of the failure of a military action launched by Hungary on its own against Romania, Hitler tried repeatedly to discourage the Hungarian Government from such a rash act. The Fuhrer also shared with Ciano his views according to which, in a possible conflict with Romania, "if Hungary remains by itself, considering both its talent for war and other abilities, its success is not at all certain,"<sup>3</sup> and Ribbentrop said openly to Sztojay, the Hungarian minister to Berlin: "In the case of the outbreak of a conflict (between Hungary and Romania--our note), its start can be foreseen, but its later course would still be doubtful, and the end could be tantamount to a catastrophe."<sup>4</sup> Hitler wanted to get revenge on Romania. After the Fuhrer declared in a conversation with Sztojay that, apart from the interest in oil, "he (Hitler--our note) would have no other reason for supporting Romania, a country that followed until not long ago a treacherous policy, beginning with the fact that, without any reason and totally inexplicably, it entered the (first) world war on the Entente's side, not to mention the policy which it promoted after the war and which Titulescu symbolized...."<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, toward Horthy's Hungary--appreciating its 2-decade-old counter-revolutionary regime and its revanchist policy favoring the Reich--Hitler exhibited sympathy and a broad understanding of its aggressive, expansionist goals. Ribbentrop expressed this attitude unequivocally: "...Germany manifests total understanding toward its ally in the (first--our note) world war and has also shown thus far, not only with words but also with actions, that it harbors total sympathy for Hungary. This sympathy on the part of the Axis powers--as the decision in the arbitration 2 years ago regarding the revision of the northern borders proved--is not just abstract but also especially effective from a practical viewpoint. Only the Fuhrer's political boldness vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia made, in general, this revision possible."<sup>6</sup>

Relying on the Reich's sympathy and being convinced of its actual support in materializing their revisionist and expansionist policy, the Horthyists became more and more vociferous and aggressive in their claims regarding Romania. As early as 3 August 1940, Pal Teleki, the head of the Hungarian Government, sent to Mussolini, the head of the Italian Government, a "pro memoria" in which he gave Horthy's entire expansionist strategy regarding Romania--claims that involved a big part of Transylvania, including the area inhabited by Szeklers. The document pointed out the fact that the Hungarian Government rejected the idea of a transfer of Hungarian or Szekler population from Romania to Hungary, the only solution being "to annex all of Transylvania and set the border between Romania and Hungary along the entire Carpathian arc," warning that "the border along the Carpathians is not changeable."



Received by Hitler on 10 July 1940, Pal Teleki, Hungary's prime minister, stressed that his government's revisionist claims were aimed particularly at Transylvania, on which it set more value than on any other piece of territory lost at the end of World War I--a statement that crowned the Horthy regime's 2-decade-old policy aimed at nullifying the Alba Iulia Grand National Assembly's decision to unite Transylvania with Romania (1 December 1918), a decision recognized on an international level through the peace treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920). Even before taking power, Admiral Horthy declared: "Hungary's number one enemy is Romania, because the biggest territorial claims are against it and because it is the strongest of the neighboring states. Consequently, the foreign policy's main goal is to solve the problems with Romania through an appeal to arms."<sup>10</sup> Despite this statement, the Horthy regime did not dare resort to force in order to apply its revisionist program but tried to obtain the support of the great powers--at first those identified with the postwar status quo, France and Great Britain, and then those opposed to this status quo, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. After the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany (30 January 1933), Horthy's Hungary, which had revolved in the orbit of Mussolini's Italy until then, tried more and more to get Nazi Germany's support in its revisionist policy. "As the later events proved, the essence of the policy of Horthy and his clique was, in alliance with the countries of the fascist Axis and, as far as possible, with the support of the Western powers, to occupy the territories of a number of neighboring countries in the interests of big capital and the landowner oligarchy in Hungary."<sup>11</sup> As we stated, the ruling political circles were concerned particularly with Transylvania, but they had to reorder their objectives according to the political context, so that, in concert with its fascist allies, the Horthy regime participated in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia (the first Vienna "award," in fact a diktat, of 2 November 1938, as a result of which Hungary annexed the southern regions of Slovakia and the sub-Carpathian Ukraine, followed by the occupation of the other part of this latter area on 15-17 March 1939).

#### Practices of Sad Memory

Along with the political measures for attaining its revisionist objectives, the Horthy regime performed extensive propaganda activity within which a prominent place went to history. In order to "prove" the grave "injustice" to which Hungary had fallen victim through the treaty of Trianon, the Horthy regime provided for the publication of numerous studies, articles (especially in *REVUE D'HISTOIRE COMPARÉE*), and volumes that had the purpose of convincing international public opinion that, "mutilated" in 1920, Hungary had to regain its "historical" borders. Among the works that tried to provide a so-called scientific "substantiation" by using geographic, historical, ethnographic, and other arguments, there was also a massive volume--published on 1 August 1940 in the German and Italian languages, consequently, to convince the two fascist powers--a volume titled "Transylvania," prepared by a team of Hungarian specialists, also including the then young Laszlo Makkai, later the author of the work "Histoire de la Transylvanie" (1946) and one of the editors of the massive synthesis "Erdely Tortenete" (The History of Transylvania), published in Budapest in 1986 (it should be mentioned that, while Count Pal Teleki, Hungary's then prime minister, was among the authors of the volume "Transylvania"



in 1940, "Erdely Tortenete" has Bela Kopeczi, the minister of culture of the Hungarian People's Republic, as chief editor).

It was to be expected that a rigorous analysis of the Horthy government's foreign policy on the Transylvania issue, accompanied by its well-deserved condemnation, would be found in the pages of this latest "History of Transylvania," prepared by a staff of historians, who assert in the work's preface that they based their investigation on the conception of historical materialism and who had considerable information at their disposal. Instead of this research and evaluation, the authors declare in the preface that the period after 1918 is treated briefly, because...they do not have suitable data and interpretations. Anyone who is at all familiar with historiographic literature knows that the interwar period and the years of World War II have been and are the object of a true "bibliographic explosion," and thus, to invoke the "absence" of suitable data and interpretations means to use a pretext that is as flimsy as it is ridiculous.

In any case, the authors of "The History of Transylvania" did not have any basis for asserting that, in the summer of 1940, "Bucharest raised in Berlin the idea of arbitration, for which, anyway, Hitler had also been prepared."<sup>12</sup> The authors know very well that the so-called Vienna award was, in reality, an odious diktat, but they needed this falsification in order to accredit the thesis that Romania was the one that requested arbitration and that the Vienna decision--in reality, a conclusive example of the imperialist policy of ignoring the people's right of self-determination--ostensibly had a basis in international law, and consequently, because Romania requested and accepted "arbitration," it no longer had the right to contest it. The position of the authors of "The History of Transylvania" is thus integrated into a clear revisionist orientation, which goes from condemnation of the treaty of Trianon, through justification of the Vienna diktat, to denial of the character that Transylvania has as a component part of the unitary Romanian socialist state. However, the facts cannot be changed at the whim of the historians in Budapest, and they show the falsehoods committed by the team led by Bela Kopeczi.

The union of Transylvania with Romania, decided by the Alba Iulia Grand National Assembly on 1 December 1918, was the expression of a historical process of an objective nature: The existence of the Romanian nation necessarily required the existence of a suitable political framework, which could only be the unitary national state.<sup>13</sup> Despite the vicissitudes and obstacles generated by, among other things, the existence of the three big empires of a reactionary nature--the Ottoman Empire, the Hapsburg Empire, becoming the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1867, and czarist Russia--the lawlike nature of this process caused the Romanian nation to effect by its own forces and means the fulfillment of its national ideal in 1918. Consequently, the unitary Romanian national state was not the artificial creation of the 1919-1920 peace treaties, a creation resulting from juxtapositions of foreign territories, but the natural product of the organic evolution of Romanian society, of the Romanian nation. It preceded the peace treaties, and a simple chronological check immediately reveals this fact. The Great Union occurred in 1918, and the peace treaties that gave it recognition on an international level date from 1919-1920.

Throughout the postwar period, Romania's two big objectives were the defense of national independence and of territorial integrity, threatened by the revisionist forces, including Horthy's Hungary. Through bilateral alliances (France, Poland) and multilateral alliances (the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente), through activity within the League of Nations--as an expression of international law--and through steps to institute a system of collective security, Romania sought to participate in achieving a structure of international relations in which the might of right would take precedence over the right of might. Romania did not agree to become the tool of any great power or to take aggressive actions against any state. This is what the great diplomat Nicolae Titulescu stressed when he declared: "The idea that we wanted to set ourselves against the interests of another small or great power is just as wrong as the idea that we would have wanted to serve other interests than ours. We want to be friends to all nations without exception, but in our affairs we accept only ourselves as master."<sup>14</sup>

#### The Horthy Conspiracy Involves Transylvania

After Hitler came to power, Romania was one of the first countries on which the Nazi Reich's pressure was put in order to get them to change their policy in a way favorable to Berlin's interests. Back on 26 May 1933, Hitler sternly told N. Petrescu-Comnen, Romania's minister to Berlin, that the continuation of economic relations was conditioned on a change in Romania's political attitude, regarded in Berlin as hostile to German interests.<sup>15</sup> Despite all the pressure--the terrorist actions of the Legionary movement, turned into a Nazi agency, were added to the economic blackmail--Romania remained faithful to its traditional orientation of defending national independence and territorial integrity and combating revisionist and expansionist policies.

The European political and strategic framework was profoundly affected by the remilitarization of the Rhineland (7 March 1936), which gave big advantages to Nazi Germany. The premises for Romania's political and military isolation, which was to have such disastrous consequences in the summer of 1940, thus appeared. The passiveness manifested by the Western powers in the face of Germany's act of force was the prelude to new concessions and cessions. They found their culmination in the Munich agreement (29 September 1938). The Czechoslovak crisis offered the Horthy regime the first opportunity to attain its revisionist objectives, with Czechoslovakia thus being its first victim. "Although the Hungarian ruling classes were not fully satisfied with the 'Vienna award,' they still decided that this first concession by Hitler could not also be the last and that the subsequent closeness to Germany promised the satisfaction of all their territorial claims."<sup>16</sup> The orientation of Horthy's Hungary toward Berlin became even more pronounced.

It coincided with the appearance of new elements in Germany's policy toward Romania and Hungary. At the end of 1937, it had become obvious that the plan to meet the Wehrmacht's needs, in case of war, with synthetic liquid fuel had failed. Under these conditions, the obtaining--in one form or another--of control over Romanian oil became of exceptional significance for Nazi Germany. In order to attain this objective, Berlin decided to encourage Hungary's

revisionist claims vis-a-vis Romania in order to be able to more easily blackmail the latter.<sup>17</sup>

The conclusion of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact (23 August 1939), the Wehrmacht's successes during the Blitzkrieg, to which France fell among the first victims, and the threat of the German landing hanging over Great Britain created a totally different balance of power, in which Romania was completely isolated on a military and political plane. In this context, the Soviet Government's ultimatums of 26-28 June 1940 arose, as a result of which northern Bessarabia and Bukovina became part of the Soviet Union.

As early as the end of 1939, the political and military circles in Budapest had taken such a possibility into consideration. On 12 December, General Henrik Werth, Hungary's chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sent to the government a memorandum through which he declared himself in favor of an attack on Romania if it made concessions to the Soviet Union.<sup>18</sup> The Transylvania issue had become--according to historian Balint Homan, the minister of cults and instruction (and one of the most fervent defenders on a historiographic plane of the Horthy regime's revisionist claims regarding Transylvania)--the central problem of the discussions in the Hungarian Council of Ministers.<sup>19</sup> While the Horthy regime's political and military elements were unanimous in the desire to acquire Transylvania, they still disagreed as to the methods of doing so. The essence of these disagreements came down to the question of whether Transylvania had to be acquired with or without Nazi Germany's help, because to those who responded affirmatively to this question others objected that, in the best case, Germany would want compensation for its help and, in the worst case, Germany could lose the war. And then?... Those who embodied the two viewpoints the most clearly were Gen Henrik Werth and Prime Minister Pal Teleki. The former was convinced that "we can achieve the reestablishment of the millennium-old borders...only with Germany's help,"<sup>20</sup> and the latter did not want to burn the bridges with the Western powers (Great Britain and the United States) and was of the opinion that too great a dependency by Hungary on Germany had to be avoided. Horthy himself was convinced that Germany's help was essential for attaining Hungary's revisionist objectives and that Transylvania could not be acquired except "from the hands of the Germans." Rejecting the idea that Hungary would not permit the transit of the German troops that would have attacked Romania, he declared: "I will not stand with bayonets at the border to repel the Germans, precisely when I can acquire Transylvania with their help."<sup>21</sup>

The successes of Hitler's Army in the spring of 1940 represented all so many stimuli for the supporters in Budapest of a military action by Hungary against Romania. Istvan Csaky, Hungary's minister of foreign affairs, declared that the country was ready for a lightning action aimed at occupying Transylvania and, once this objective was attained, Hungary was ready to give up any other claims during the "current generation"; and if it got Germany's help, Hungary was ready to increase the deliveries of agricultural products. "On our part, we would be ready to tighten our belts in order to thus provide increased deliveries of food for the German Reich."<sup>22</sup>



The Horthy regime's aggressive zeal was not regarded as opportune in Berlin and Rome. The prospect of an interruption in oil deliveries in the case of a Romanian-Hungarian military conflict seemed dangerous for the two fascist powers, which hastened to warn the Horthy regime that a Romanian-Hungarian military confrontation was not desirable and that any initiative by Hungary in this regard, without the agreement of the Axis, would deprive the Horthy regime of the support of Germany and Italy. This position was clearly explained to Teleki and Csaky in the meeting that they had with Hitler on 10 July 1940, with Ciano, Italy's minister of foreign affairs, also being present. After this meeting, Budapest bombarded Berlin in particular at such a rate with such statements, notes, and reports--all lacking any historical or legal basis, any foundation--that the German minister of foreign affairs "advised in a friendly way" the Hungarian minister to Berlin "to abstain from such measures lacking psychological tact, to not propagandize the German Government with such a stream of paper, instead of holding talks with the Romanians."<sup>23</sup>

#### The Fuhrer Threatens the Destruction of Romania

The restraint recommended by Hitler and Mussolini did not mean at all that the two dictators did not support the Horthy regime's revisionist claims. Hitler and Mussolini regarded the claims of Horthy's Hungary as just but were against satisfying them by an appeal to arms, which would have contravened the economic war interests of the two fascist great powers. In order to put pressure on Romania, Hitler wrote a letter to King Carol II in which he warned that the consequence of trying to avoid discussing the claims of Hungary and Bulgaria "could be the very destruction of Romania."<sup>24</sup>

On 26 July 1940, Ioan Gîr্তু, Romania's prime minister, accompanied by Mihail Manoilescu, the minister of foreign affairs, met with Hitler. As a result of the exchange of opinions, the following conclusions were reached: "1) We (the Romanians--our note) were to deal with the Hungarians and Bulgarians, free, uncoerced, and without any German intervention either for us or against us. 2) These talks were not connected with any deadline. 3) The basis of the talks was the exchange of population, for the purpose of reaching a solution in which no Hungarian would remain under the Romanians and no Romanian under the Hungarians. 4) Hitler left open the possibility of a plebiscite, at least in part, in Transylvania and of the utilization of neutral armies to supervise the exchange of population. 5) In synthesis, certain precise and coherent principles and lines were laid down in Berchtesgaden, and Hitler remained pledged to us to respect them."<sup>25</sup> According to the German record of the conversation, "the Romanian minister of foreign affairs asked if arbitration would be taken into consideration in the case in which the talks with Hungary and Bulgaria ran into difficulties. Nevertheless, this idea was rejected by the German party, which referred to the unpleasant experience, especially with Hungary, in the case of the Vienna award (of 2 November 1938)"<sup>26</sup> Consequently, it should be borne in mind that Mihail Manoilescu's question had the nature of a feeler, /not/ of a request, and that Hitler categorically rejected the possibility of his country's participation in arbitration.

Mihail Manoilescu also related: "When he finished his diatribe, he began a conversation about the prospects and methods of the future talks, I giving

very clear and precise explanations, either from memory or on the basis of cards prepared beforehand, regarding the quantitative aspect of the exchange of population....

"The second part of our meeting then followed, in which we presented to Hitler and Ribbentrop the ethnic maps of Transylvania and explained our rights on this occasion. Naturally, we also revived some arguments developed by me in the letter to the king, dwelling especially on the fact that Transylvania was not 'given' to us through the treaty of Trianon but joined Romania on its own as a result of the Alba Iulia decision....

"We presented only the originals of the papers to Hitler, because the copies were still not done, but the impression on him was visible, as all those present noted. I do not say this as a catchphrase, used by all who want to cherish or to create illusions about the effect of their arguments. But, in fact, at one moment, Hitler turned to Ribbentrop and, through the well-known gesture of the person who, lowering both hands, turns the palms forward, said to him a low but very distinct 'Hey, see!,' which expressed somewhat his satisfaction at being right about some earlier statements and about an old difference of opinion between them. It was revealed to us once again that Ribbentrop was definitely hostile to us and, in any case, more hostile than Hitler. Moreover, Ribbentrop had the indelicacy to tell us informatively that the Hungarians wanted half of Transylvania!

"As the record of the conversation says, Hitler 'could hardly believe that the Hungarian map from 1890 was so favorable to us.' He got a big magnifying glass and took a long look with it at a legend on the map that explained the proportion of Romanians represented by each color....<sup>-27</sup>

On 2 August 1940, the prime minister summoned to the headquarters of the Council of Ministers the former Transylvanian ministers and high officials in order to acquaint them with the result of the conversations in Salzburg and Rome and with the government's decision to begin talks with Hungary. On that occasion, Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Manoilescu described the stage of the relations between Romania and Hungary, declaring that "there is a big difference between the Hungarian claims and what Romania accepts."<sup>28</sup> Voicu Nitescu, Mihai Serban, Ion Lugosianu, and Al. Lapedatu, participants in the above-mentioned meeting, spoke against engaging in talks with Hungary, and Sever Dan stressed the necessity of consulting all Romanian political figures and public opinion.

On 6 August, 4 days later, political leaders and cultured people, together with a group of 12 generals, signed an appeal addressed to international public opinion and to the leaders of the Axis states through which our people's historical rights to Transylvania were supported: "Our borders with Hungary," it said in the appeal, "are not, as has been incorrectly and tendentiously asserted so many times, just a consequence of the treaty of Trianon....

"On 1 December 1918, the Alba Iulia Grand Assembly, the free expression of the will of all the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary, proclaimed the union with Romania, with which the representatives of the German population also



concurred immediately. The Romanians in Transylvania thus did not do anything but what all the nationalities contained in the borders of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy did."<sup>29</sup>

The popular masses in the entire country manifested, by various means and forms, their profound disgust for the aggressive, revisionist intentions of the fascist states vis-a-vis Romania, speaking out firmly for the defense of the country's borders.

#### A Tragedy Written Beforehand

The expansion of the revanchist actions of Horthy's Hungary against Romania also caused anxiety among the population of the coinhabiting nationalities. The letter sent to "Chancellor Hitler" on 28 July 1940 by some Hungarian citizens in Resita, in which it was asked that Germany not satisfy Hungary's territorial claims, is indicative. Among other things, in the letter it said: "We are content with our present situation and do not want the borders to be changed. Some 20 years have already passed since Transylvania was joined to Romania, and this must remain so because the people want it so."<sup>30</sup>

Repudiating the revisionist actions and expressing their desire to still remain within the Romanian state's borders, the population of German nationality in our country spoke out during the poll organized in July 1940 by Wilhelm Fabricius, Hitler's minister to Romania, in a proportion of 80 percent against the plans to dismember Romania. At the same time, many Germans sent to Berlin statements declaring themselves against satisfying Horthy's revisionist claims. It is also worth mentioning the fact that Hans Otto Roth, the minister of nationalities in the government led by Ioan Gigurtu, sent to Hitler on behalf of the Germans in Romania a statement asking him to not satisfy the Hungarian revisionists and to help those on whose behalf the statement was sent to still live within the borders of the Romanian state."<sup>31</sup>

The Swabians also took just as firm a position in rejecting Hungarian revisionism. In the last 10-day period of August, a delegation of German and Italian journalists made a trip for research and information to the northwestern part of Romania. Thus, Deputy Joseph Schonburg demonstrated to the journalists, on the basis of data, the falseness of the assertions of the Hungarian propaganda regarding the past of the Swabians in the counties of Bihor, Salaj, and Satu Mare. This population, which had once been subjected to an intense process of Magyarization, had organized itself with the assistance of the Romanian authorities and was living in complete freedom, its desire being to still remain within the Romanian state. Schonburg declared that "these people of German origin (the Swabians) do not want to once again be subject to Hungarian rule after they have enjoyed for 20 years all the rights and freedoms that they had in the Romanian country."<sup>32</sup>

A relevant document in regard to the attitude of firm rejection of the actions of the revisionist states by the Jews in Romania and of solidarity by them with the Romanian people in the struggle to defend the common homeland's territorial integrity is the statement sent to King Carol II on 11 July 1940 by Dr W. Filderman, Al. Safran, and Dr I. Brucar on behalf of the Federation of

Unions of Jewish Communities, from which we reproduce a few passages: "In these times of tempestuous hardship that have befallen our dear homeland, the Romanian Jews...want with all due respect to proclaim their unwavering solidarity with the destinies of the Romanian people. They share the common fate, suffering with Romanian suffering, and hoping with Romanian hope. The Jews in the Old Kingdom, native Romanian Jews, born and raised for generations on the Romanian land, are and remain attached with all their love to the Romanian land, a land abundantly soaked with the blood of their best sons fallen in the war of independence in 1877, in the war in 1913, and in the war of reintegration in 1916-1919. Their ideals have always been interwoven with those of all the Romanians.... With unflinching determination and with an iron will, the Romanian Jews feel united with the Romanian people...."<sup>33</sup>

Between 16 and 24 August, negotiations between a Romanian delegation, led by Valer Pop, and a Hungarian delegation, led by Andras de Hory, were held in Turnu Severin. As George Duca, the Romanian delegation's secretary, noted, De Hory, "in an aggressive manner and with allusions lacking tact and common sense,"<sup>34</sup> requested 69,000 square km of territory with a population of 3.9 million inhabitants, including 2.0 million Romanians and 1.2 million Hungarians.<sup>35</sup> The Romanian Government categorically rejected this request, remaining "intransigent concerning the ethnic principle, that is, an exchange of population with territorial compensation proportional to the number of those moved from one country to the other."<sup>36</sup> Because of the irreconcilable positions of the two parties, the talks came to an end.

The imminence of an armed conflict between Hungary--which had repeatedly affirmed its intention to resort to force--and Romania alarmed both Berlin and Rome, so that Hitler and Mussolini decided to impose what they had rejected earlier: "arbitration," which, in reality, was to be a diktat. At the German-Italian meeting on 28 August, which set the conditions for this diktat, Hitler spoke as clearly, cynically, and treacherously as can be: "The Fuehrer," we read in the shorthand record, "began by presenting the situation from a German viewpoint. He does not know if the Hungarian threats (against Romania) are serious. Perhaps they are only a bluff. Anyway, it is necessary to take steps for the case that they may be serious. In this case, in his opinion, the interests of Germany and Italy are attained in their essence. In evaluating the general situation," Hitler continued, "various factors must be taken into consideration: a purely material factor, which is, however, of extraordinary importance for continuing the war, the oil supply, which is extremely important, both for Germany and for Italy.... It is clear that at the first shot all oil shipments from Romania to Germany and Italy will stop. Naturally, a Romania at war with Hungary will no longer be able to export its products through Yugoslavia or on the Danube. This will create extremely serious problems for continuing the war, especially as regards the technical weaponry needed in a modern war. The second element that will affect the situation just as decisively is the problem of expansion of the war.... This will lead to the considerable worsening of the situation of Germany and Italy in the future. Another element that must be taken into consideration is the fact that, if an armed conflict occurs, Hungary will fight either by itself or with foreign help. If Hungary remains by itself, then, considering its degree of military preparation and its situation in other regards, victory is not at

all certain.... It follows clearly that a conflict in the Balkans can only be unfavorable to Germany and Italy, and consequently, both countries have every interest in avoiding such a conflict. This is also the opinion of the German generals, since even they do not regard a Hungarian victory as certain, as it seems that those in Budapest do; and he (Hitler) is aware of the difficulties that will arise if the conflict between Romania and Hungary degenerates into a general conflagration in the Balkans. In this case, the wells will be not just closed for a few months but permanently destroyed."<sup>37</sup>

During the same meeting on 28 August, Hitler pointed out to those present the ways and means of putting into practice that "leading idea" of the policy toward Romania and Hungary, as a result of which Germany could ensure its economic, political, and military supremacy over the two countries. Although he regarded the Horthy claims "as excessive and illogical," Hitler was determined to support them, since he considered Romania one of the countries hostile to the Axis. "The structure of the population in the area at issue (he was referring to all of Transylvania)--considering Hungary's position as favorably as possible--is the following: for 1.5 million Hungarians there are 3.0 million Romanians and 600,000-700,000 Germans.... The ratio is thus one-third Hungarians to two-thirds Romanians. Hungary's territorial claims come to 66,000 square km, which means that the Hungarians want two-thirds of the area at issue, of which, however, only one-third is inhabited by Hungarians.... In the event of a conflict, Romania has nothing to gain and everything to lose. If Romania starts the war, it is possible for it to be its last war and to lead to the complete disappearance of the state...." In fact, Hitler stated, "we must thus impress Romania and Hungary with the serious consequences that persistence in an intransigent attitude would have for them. They must be shown clearly that a conflict would be to the disadvantage of both and that, in any case, Germany and Italy will protect their interests if need be. It is thus advisable for both countries to accept a compromise. Hungary," he stressed, "should actually accept any compromise, since it would not obtain anything through its own efforts, but owes the satisfaction of its claims exclusively to fascism and national socialism."

"Romania must be shown clearly that a compromise with Hungary nonetheless means the preservation of a piece of national territory that, after all, is still quite large."<sup>38</sup>

At that time, Romania's isolation was total: "We consider ourselves completely isolated and lacking the material and political support of any foreign power,"<sup>39</sup> the Operations Section of the Joint Chiefs of Staff judged on 26 August. Our people were passing through one of the most tragic periods in their millennia-long history; the very existence of the Romanian state was at stake. Summoned to Vienna, Mihail Manoilescu, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, was to be confronted with a tragedy written beforehand. It was an ultimatum: Either accept the "arbitration" of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, or the Romanian state would disappear under the attack of its neighbors.

## Like Thieves in the Night

As Mihail Manoilescu noted, in his discussions with Ribbentrop and Ciano on 29 August: "We returned to the fact that Romania /neither/ proposed /nor ever accepted the idea of arbitration/, and the Fuhrer spoke out decisively against any intervention of the nature of arbitration."<sup>40</sup> Consequently, there is no basis for the assertion in "The History of Transylvania" that Romania requested arbitration. This allegation is necessary to the authors simply in order to substitute a basis in international law for the revisionist claims regarding Transylvania. As will be seen, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Hungarian delegation invoked the same "argument" in order to request a smaller portion than that torn from Transylvania's territory in Vienna.

The so-called "arbitration" was, in reality, a typical imperialist diktat, within which the main "arbiter"--Hitler's Germany--imposed its will and interests: to aggravate the tension between Romania and Hungary in order to be able to dominate them more strongly, to punish Romania for its policy hostile to revisionism and expansionism, so characteristic of the Third Reich's foreign policy, and to secure--through Hungary, the beneficiary of the Vienna diktat--more favorable strategic positions in the Romanian area: control of the eastern Carpathians and--in particular--access to the oil region through the projection jutting toward Brasov and the curve of the Carpathians. "The borderline between Romania and Hungary," Hitler declares to Dome Sztojay, Hungary's minister to Berlin, arriving on 10 September to bring a message of thanks from Horthy for the Vienna diktat, "was not set by abstract ideals but was based on interest in petroleum."<sup>41</sup>

Thus, only a few days after the diktat, stating to Sztojay that "it was not easy to force the Romanians to cede such a big piece of territory" and then pointing out "what a great significance the victory (in the war--our note) of the Axis powers has for Hungary," Hitler continued: "If the Axis powers lose the war--a situation that cannot be taken into calculation, of course--then all these revisions become null."<sup>42</sup>

The procedure used was blackmail with the disappearance of the Romanian state, if it had refused to recognize the decision of the arbiters. Romania's representative, confronted with the map prepared by the two "arbiters," was not even allowed to express his viewpoint. As regards the proposition in "The History of Transylvania"--"After some hesitation, Teleki accepted arbitration, and the (Romanian--our note) Crown Council also decided, by a two-thirds majority, in favor of it,"<sup>43</sup> which would give the impression of approval by the highest advisory body--the reality is that, absolutely opposed to the territorial amputation imposed on Romania, the Crown Council's members had "to choose between the preservation of our state's political being and the possibility of its disappearance."<sup>44</sup> As Romanian diplomat Raoul Bossy correctly observed: "Thus, treacherously, through surprise and violence, like thieves in middle of the night, Greater Romania was killed by Hitler and Mussolini, by Ribbentrop and Ciano."<sup>45</sup> The REUTERS agency's commentary correctly noted Romania's situation when it reported on 30 August: "The Romanian Government was confronted with the ultimatum of accepting arbitration by Germany and Italy; left without any friend to which it could turn, Romania bowed to the inevitable."<sup>46</sup>



The Vienna diktat was received with anger and indignation by the whole Romanian populace. Protest demonstrations were held throughout the country. From the ordinary people<sup>47</sup> to the great personalities of public life, the condemnation was unanimous.

Nor was the Antonescu regime able to ignore public opinion's feelings. Under their pressure, nearly every time, in his discussions with Hitler, Ion Antonescu returned to the Romanian people's legitimate rights to Transylvania. On the basis of instructions from Bucharest, on the occasion of his meeting with Cordell Hull, the American secretary of state, on 4 September 1941, Brutus Coste, Romania's charge d'affaires to Washington, declared on behalf of the Romanian Government that he would never accept the idea of a territorial exchange of Transnistria for northern Transylvania; stating that Romania did not have any territorial claims vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the Romanian diplomat stressed that the regaining of the territory lost through the Vienna diktat was the main objective of Romania's foreign policy.<sup>48</sup>

The fascist Vienna diktat was not recognized by the government of the United States either, a state in which Horthy's revisionist propaganda made constant efforts to sway public opinion and political personalities in order to get recognition for the new territories annexed by Hungary to Romania's detriment. The administration led by President F.D. Roosevelt rejected Horthy's revisionist propaganda and Hungary's claims to Transylvania and other territories belonging to neighboring states.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, expressing his disagreement with the despotic act committed by Germany and Italy, specified that "we will not recognize any territorial exchange that occurred in wartime, except for the case when it was made with the concurrence and will of the parties involved."<sup>49</sup> In his turn, Lord Halifax, Great Britain's foreign secretary, declared on 6 September 1940 in the House of Commons that "the English Government did not accept the Vienna diktat, which stole from Romania a big part of its national territory, since the so-called "regulation" of the issue was dictated by the Axis powers and was imposed on Romania through coercion."<sup>50</sup>

Recalling the situation imposed on our country through the "arbitration" of the fascist powers in Vienna on 30 August 1940, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, the semiofficial organ of the Vatican, concluded on 25 August 1944: "As is easy to understand, such a verdict was not well received in Romania, where even a Communist official announced that the Vienna talks occurred under conditions that compelled Romania to choose between the preservation of its political existence and the eventuality of disappearing."

Taking a stand against the revanchist actions of the fascist states against other states and siding with the Romanian people's just cause, R. Seton-Watson, the renowned English historian, declared in a Radio London broadcast on 30 August 1940: "Today can be considered a day of bitterness for the Romanian people, one of the blackest days through which the country has passed. A new and monstrous mutilation of Romania's borders was committed today in Vienna through the diktat of the Axis powers." Stressing Transylvania's place in the history of the Romanian people, he pointed out: "Transylvania does not



represent a simple territorial issue. It represents the abode of the Romanians, and the word 'Transylvania' is the ideal for which so many generations of Romanians have sacrificed themselves. How, indeed, could a patriotic Romanian view this decision with arms crossed?"<sup>51</sup>

#### The Firm Will of the Whole Nation

The ideal of liberating the occupied homeland's territory constantly inspired the struggle of the masses. The dawn of liberation illuminated the path of the emancipation of the entire territory through the victorious antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation in August 1944. Then, on the evening of 23 August, in the proclamation to the country, it said: "Alongside the Allied armies and with their help, mobilizing all the forces of the nation, we will cross the borders imposed by the unjust Vienna act to liberate the land of our Transylvania from foreign occupation."<sup>52</sup>

The revolutionary act on 23 August 1944--an expression of the Romanian nation's unanimous desire to restore national independence, seriously violated by Nazi Germany, to overthrow the dictatorial regime, and to turn its arms against the Wehrmacht--opened the way for the liberation of northwestern Romania and the nullification of the Vienna diktat. The Romanian Army, side by side with the Soviet Army, fought with legendary heroism to liberate the occupied territory. On 25 October 1945, Romanian administration over northwestern Transylvania was restored.

The armistice agreement, signed on 12 September 1944 in Moscow, stipulated in Article 19: "The Allied governments regard the decisions of the Vienna arbitration as null and void and agree that Transylvania (or most of it) is to be restored to Romania, on the condition of confirmation through the peace treaty, and the Soviet Government agrees that the Soviet forces are to participate, for this purpose, in joint military operations with Romania against Germany and Hungary."<sup>53</sup>

The authors of "The History of Transylvania" write that, "ignoring the possibility of an alternative in the armistice agreement--and taking into consideration Romania's sacrifices against the fascist powers--the peace treaty restored, from a legal viewpoint too, all of northern Transylvania (to Romania--our note), and it thus reestablished the Romanian-Hungarian border drawn in 1920."<sup>54</sup> For them, the Paris peace treaties in 1947 did not put an end to an act characteristic of the policy of force and of threat with force practiced by the imperialist powers, but "missed" the chance to give Hungary a part, however small, of Transylvania. In the view of the authors of "The History of Transylvania," the restoration of the northwestern part of Romania's territory to it was not an act of historical justice but the result of a de facto situation created by Romania's contribution to the anti-Hitler war.

In order to understand better the biased interpretation offered by the authors of "The History of Transylvania," we must present first the discussions that accompanied the drafting of Article 19 of the armistice agreement. On the evening of 10 September 1944, Romania's representatives became acquainted with the text proposed by the Allies (initially Art 20) regarding Transylvania's

future.<sup>55</sup> In the first version, the text proposed by the three great powers went as follows: "The Allied governments regard the Vienna award concerning Transylvania as null and void and /want/ (our emphasis) to see Transylvania, or most of this territory, restored to Romania on the condition of being confirmed by the peace treaty."<sup>56</sup> The note presented by Romania's delegation asked that "a more categorical wording, corresponding, in fact, to the terms of the armistice text communicated to the Romanian emissaries in Cairo," be given to the article, it be specified that northern Transylvania would be liberated "through the joint effort," and it be specified that such a stipulation "be put in the armistice and peace agreements with Hungary."<sup>57</sup>

On the next day (11 September 1944), when the point-by-point discussion of the agreement began, after Gh. Pop noted that the part referring to Transylvania was "the only gain of this armistice,"<sup>58</sup> he appreciated the intention of the Allies to restore this territory to Romania. Nevertheless, he expressed the fear that the article, as it was conceived, could have created "doubts, since it does not express more than a desire."<sup>59</sup> At the same time, Gh. Pop proposed that military cooperation in liberating this territory (as the terms went in April) be stipulated. Molotov replied that although the suggestion existed in the article, as it was then conceived, it would not meet with any objection.<sup>60</sup>

A meeting took place in the afternoon of 12 September--in which Vyshinsky, Novikov, Kerr, and Harriman participated--and took up the new draft of Article 20 proposed by the Romanian delegation. Vyshinsky declared from the first that the Soviet Union could not accept it but would approve a rewording closer to the terms in April. He suggested that a reference be made to the use of the Allied forces.<sup>61</sup> Harriman added the specification that it was desirable "to return to the draft proposed initially by the Soviet delegation" and that what displeased the Romanian representatives the most was the word "desire."<sup>62</sup> Vyshinsky declared himself in agreement that the Soviet Army would undertake operations in the respective area. The British ambassador concurred with the American diplomat's remark. They then proceeded to draft a version, but it also contained the stipulation from the earlier one. In the new version, the article in the armistice agreement had the following wording: "The Allied governments regard the decisions of the Vienna arbitration concerning Transylvania as null and void and agree that Transylvania (or most of it) is to be restored to Romania on the condition of confirmation through the peace treaty. The Soviet Government agrees that its Armed Forces are to participate, for this purpose, in military operations together with Romania against Germany and Hungary."<sup>63</sup> The replacement of the phrase "the Allied governments /want/" with "agree" and the inclusion of the obligation regarding the participation of the Soviet Armies in liberating the northern part of Transylvania represented an obvious improvement over the initial text.

At the last session in Moscow (12 September 1944), V.M. Molotov specified that the draft presented by Gh. Pop was "unacceptable" but that a new one had been made that--he felt--"would satisfy all the parties."<sup>64</sup> The new text, drafted on the afternoon of the same day, was read and accepted by the Romanian delegation. The territorial clause referring to Transylvania was complete but less precise.<sup>65</sup> The phrase "Transylvania or most [of it]," inserted at the request of the English and American diplomats,<sup>66</sup> could also be viewed from the

angle of their propagandistic interest in Hungary at the time of the conclusion of the armistice with Romania. The phrase did not question Romania's rights to Transylvania but established the condition of the faithful execution of the military obligations from 12 September 1944; the alternative form had a value of /diplomatic pressure/. It did not tend to create de jure situations but to establish political and diplomatic possibilities meant to have a definite military effect.

In the period of preparation for the peace conference, Hungarian diplomats, through efforts in Moscow,<sup>67</sup> London,<sup>68</sup> and Washington,<sup>69</sup> would try to change the decisions of the great powers. Received favorably in Moscow<sup>70</sup>--where the sending of an emissary to Bucharest for "negotiations" on the Transylvanian issue was suggested to it--and "believed" in Washington,<sup>71</sup> Hungary was nonetheless unable to still preserve the result of the fascist Vienna "award."

#### Futile Neorevisionist Demands

On 7 May, at the 19th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers (Molotov, Byrnes, Bidault, and Bevin), a body entrusted with preparing the drafts of the peace treaties, the article that specified the following was adopted unanimously: "The decisions of the Vienna arbitration on 30 August 1940 are declared null and void. The border between Romania and Hungary is reestablished through the present article as it was on 1 January 1938"<sup>72</sup>--a wording that left no doubt and was approved by the peace conference and put ad litteram in the peace treaty. During the discussions, Byrnes had proposed that a recommendation that would suggest the possibility of the existence of a Romanian-Hungarian agreement for a possible revision of the border be included in the resolution, but during the peace conference, the American diplomats abandoned this thesis.<sup>73</sup>

The Romanian delegation went to the peace conference in order to get recognition for the reintegration of the national territory in the northwestern part. It brought as arguments the flimsiness of the act on 30 August 1940, the human and material efforts in the anti-Hitler war, and, in particular, the /principle of historical justice/. Romania set a great value on the spirit of justice of the Allied and Associated Powers and on the reconfirmation of the Romanian-Hungarian border as it had been set through the treaty of Trianon.

On 13 August 1946, in the plenary session of the peace conference, Gh. Tatarescu declared that the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers on 7 May 1946 confirmed Romania's western border set 25 years earlier. The recognition of the inalienable rights to the northwestern part of Transylvania, "torn from the Romanian homeland through violence and coercion, finally ends forever the long and repeated oppression whose victim the Romanian people were. Pronounced in the name of justice and, at the same time--we are convinced--in the name of the sacrifices approved by the whole Romanian nation, this decision opens up genuine prospects for fertile collaboration between the Romanian people and the Hungarian people and allows the last hotbeds of agitation, which have prevented thus far the establishment of friendly relations between these two peoples, to be eliminated"<sup>74</sup>



On 14 August 1946, Gyongyosi, Hungary's minister of foreign affairs, requested the cession of 22,000 square km of Transylvania's territory, but his request was rejected in the Commission for the Peace Treaty With Hungary. At Australia's proposal, a procedure was established for joint activity by the political and territorial commissions for Romania and Hungary, and as a result, between 31 August and 5 September 1946, the two commissions held joint sessions in which the Romanian and Hungarian delegates were invited to defend their viewpoints. The first one heard was Pal Auer, the Hungarian ambassador to Paris, who repeated the old claims in the session on 31 August 1946, reducing them, however, to about 4,000 square km, including the cities of Oradea, Arad, Satu Mare, and Carei.

Back in June 1946, Lucretiu Patrascanu, speaking on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, vigorously condemned the Hungarian Government's revisionist claims: "Where," he declared, "do the republic's authorized representatives stand when they do not accept the final drawing of Transylvania's borders as they are today? Let us call a spade a spade. We are witnessing a new version of revisionism, a new revisionism, which is not something new to us, but we note bitterly and sadly that this new version of revisionism is connected with the well-known tendencies of the past revisionism, so stirred up in the Hungary of yesterday."<sup>75</sup>

On 2 September, the chief of the Romanian delegation gave a presentation based on historical, ethnic, and economic data and on the conclusions of the international commission that had been assigned to study the problem of the Romanian-Hungarian border with a view to concluding the peace treaties at the end of World War I. He showed that the Romanian-Hungarian border set by the peace treaty of Trianon and by the draft treaty under discussion "is an ethnic border," because "back in 1919, American experts who, after months of study, reached conclusions identical to those of the diplomats spoke" in favor of it, in the sense that it expressed the "ethnographic borderline between the peoples involved" and took into account the physical configuration of the territories, the needs of normal economic life, and the communications ways.

After hearing the two delegations, the representatives of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France expressed their viewpoints. The British delegate, Gladwyn Jebb, declared that the foreign ministers of the great powers were absolutely convinced of the groundlessness of the Hungarian claims and spoke in favor of keeping the 1938 border; he supported the thesis of Romania's representative, according to which "the border rectification proposed by Hungary would constitute a rupture in the Romanian economic system." Referring to the fact that the return of northern Transylvania to Romania represented a great moral value, France's representative, Georges Catroux, stated that in this way "a formal condemnation" was given "to the Vienna award, an act of criminal violence." To the same effect, the Soviet delegate, A.E. Bogomolov, added that in the Council of Foreign Ministers the problem of the Romanian-Hungarian border was examined with particular attention, and after serious deliberations, the Vienna diktat was nullified, it being decided to reestablish the 1938 border. A. Harriman, who declared that "he supports Article 2,"<sup>76</sup> as it was prepared and approved by the Council of Foreign Ministers, also spoke in similar terms.

As a result of the discussions held, /the peace conference's plenary session unanimously approved, on 10 October 1946, the nullification of the Vienna diktat/. In connection with this matter, during the above-mentioned plenary session, V.M. Molotov, the chief of the USSR delegation, declared: "It is sufficient to say that we all recognize that it is necessary and right for the peace treaty to solve the issue of northern Transylvania in a way that corresponds to the vital national interests and the desires of the Romanian people."<sup>77</sup> In this way, once again, an international forum, in which, this time, the USSR, which had not signed the treaty of Trianon, and the United States, which had not ratified it, participated, recognized the justice of the clauses included in the treaty regarding the Romanian-Hungarian border.

In the final version of the Peace Treaty With Romania of 10 February 1947, Part I (Borders), in Article 2 it said: "The decisions of the Vienna arbitration of 30 August 1940 are declared null and void. The border between Romania and Hungary is reestablished through the present article as it existed on 1 January 1918."<sup>78</sup>

The great historical injustice of 30 August 1940 had been nullified. Sanctioning on the plane of international law the nullification of the fascist Vienna diktat of 30 August 1940, the Paris peace treaty, since whose signing and ratification 4 decades are passing this year, confirmed the border recognized by the treaty of Trianon, an act that meant, implicitly, the reconfirmation of the decision of self-determination in 1918, adopted by the Alba Iulia Grand National Assembly, and of union by Transylvania forever with Romania. The peace treaties nullified for good the two fascist Vienna diktats, nullified the territorial acquisitions of the fascist and revisionist aggressors through the whole range of their application, and condemned revisionism and any attempts to give it a legal basis. Through these acts of justice, they laid the foundations for conditions meant to strengthen the peace and collaboration in the Danubian Basin.

On 1 August 1975, in signing the final Helsinki act, the high representatives of the 35 states declared: "The participating states each consider inviolable all the borders of the other and the borders of all the states in Europe, and in consequence, they will abstain, now and in the future, from any encroachment on these borders. In consequence, they will also abstain from any demand or from any act of seizure or of usurpation of all or part of the territory of any participating state."

It seems that the authors of "The History of Transylvania" do not want to understand that through distortions and omissions it is not possible to challenge the course of history--for the simple reason that history does not let itself be turned back and any attempt of this kind is doomed to failure.

#### FOOTNOTES

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4. Op. cit., Doc No 347, p 520.
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8. "Staatsmanner und Diplomaten bei Hitler," ed by A. Hillgruber, Vol I, Frankfurt an Main, 1967, p 162.
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17. Ph. Marguerat, "L'Allemagne et la Roumanie a l'Automne 1938, Economie et Diplomatie," RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES, I (1974); idem, "Le III<sup>e</sup> Reich et le Petrole Roumain, 1938-1940," Geneva, 1977; also see: Eugen Preda, "Miza Petrolului in Viltorea Razboiului" [The Stake of Petroleum in the Whirlpool of the War], Bucharest, 1983, pp 25-27.
18. A.I. Pushkash, op. cit., p 102.
19. Ibidem.

20. Ibidem, p 103. Henrik Werth was of German nationality and he wanted to be registered as such in the 1941 census; see: Nicholas Nagy-Talavera, "The Green Shirts and the Others," Stanford, 1970, p 143.
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22. "Staatsmanner und Diplomaten bei Hitler," Vol I, pp 162-167.
23. "Jocul Periculos al Falsificarii Istoriei. Culegere de Studii si Articole" [The Dangerous Game of Falsification of History. A Collection of Studies and Articles], Bucharest, 1986, pp 46-47.
24. "23 August 1944. Documente" [23 August 1944. Documents], Vol I, Bucharest, 1984, p 89.
25. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Yr XIX, No 8 (221), August 1985, p 30.
26. "Staatsmanner und Diplomaten bei Hitler," Vol I, pp 179-180.
27. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Yr XIX, No 8 (221), August 1985, p 28-29.
28. Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Documents Section, File 546, Vol 51, sheets 77-78.
29. Loc. cit., sheet 693 and verso.
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39. "23 August 1944. Documente," ed. cit., Vol I, p 94.
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46. "23 August 1944. Documente," ed. cit., Vol I, p 100.
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54. "Erdely Tortenete," p 1,761.
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64. Loc. cit., sheet 38.
65. Archives of the Ministry of National Defense, Section 5,418, File 1, Position 2,844, sheet 165.
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## SIWICKI ADDRESSES SAILORS ON NAVY DAY

AU051546 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jun 87 p 3

[Speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, at a ceremony to mark Navy Day in Gdynia on 28 June]

[Excerpts] Safe and friendly borders, clear skies over Poland, peace which permits us to move forward, the solving of problems and the overcoming of difficulties--this is the great achievement of our people. That is why we watch the development of the international political and military situation so attentively, assess circumstances realistically, and distinguish between facts and phraseology.

Hope is being aroused by a new political climate, which is offering prospects for disarmament, providing a stimulus to forces of detente, and enhancing East-West dialogue.

We Poles ardently support all actions leading to the preservation and consolidation of peace. An eloquent expression of our peace intentions and activities is the Polish disarmament proposal commonly known as the Jaruzelski Plan. This is an initiative aimed at removing the specter of war on the Old Continent and halting the increasing danger to world peace.

However, the course of world events is greatly complicated. It is accompanied by many discrepancies which cancel political declarations. That is why we fully realize that even though there is a better political climate now, the arms race has not been halted at the same time, no concrete results have been achieved in disarmament, and the material base for war is not diminishing.

The U.S. Administration is determined to implement the so-called SDI program, in other words a transfer of nuclear weapons to space.

Attempts to relativize the principle of the inviolability of European borders and the artificial re-animation of the so-called German question are disturbing ingredients of the international situation. What arouses our concern is the incessant questioning by West German revanchist and revisionist forces of the political and territorial status quo in today's Europe. This daydreaming is frequently getting official backing from government circles and, recently, also from the mighty supporters overseas.

Mindful of our historical experience, we cannot and do not want to agree to the absolution of those hostile forces that gave birth to Hitlerite fascism, armed it, and incited it to international violence. We remember the "Drang nach Osten" [words in German], so tragic for Poland, under various slogans. So we have the right and duty to warn against repeated attempts to alter European borders and against provocative slogans about German unification."

It is an unquestionable truth that we are seeking to reduce the level of military confrontation. But in the present situation, which is complex and still marked by tension, we soldiers are bound by our patriotic duty of permanent vigilance, the consolidation of the security of the state, and the active participation in increasing the defensive strength of our socialist community.

The Navy also has its important place in the performance of this task. It is shaping a hard seaman-like character. During fraternal joint activity with the fleets of the allied states and under difficult conditions of life at sea, it is maintaining all its forces and resources in a state of constant readiness to fulfill the duty to defend the Polish coast.

History has been too hard for us to forget the basic issue of safeguarding independence, security, and peaceful development conditions. But in today's times we can only perform this task by combining the efforts of all citizens and the whole of society. For the material and spiritual basis of defense is established in all spheres of social and economic life.

This great cause was strongly underlined at the 10th PZPR Congress. Its decisions created a solid basis on which to perpetuate and develop the processes of socialist renewal, further democratize life in our country, and carry out far-reaching and comprehensive social transformations and economic reforms.

So our country has entered a period of breakthrough, one which will determine its countenance for dozens of years to come. We are facing the task of overcoming the difficulties and emerging onto the path of accelerated development.

Creative thinking is a historical necessity for us and at the same time a great obligation toward future generations.

Society's increasing awareness of the fact that this future here between the Bug and Odra Rivers and on the threshold of the 21st century is determined by the work and attitude of every Pole fills us with optimism. Let this work also be accompanied by the truth that although we are still experiencing various kinds of difficulties, nothing and no one is in a position to cancel our Poland's social advancement and all the fruits of Poland's statehood, also the fruits that are visible on the Polish sea.

The Polish soldier is also present in this great march toward modernity. Just as it has done during the entire period of our socialist construction, in future too our work will serve the fatherland and the people well.

## MINISTRY GROUP EYES RISING DEFENSE INDUSTRY PRODUCTION COSTS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Jul 87 pp 1,5

[Article by Major S. Lukaszewski: "Rationally and Thriftily" surtitled "Council for Economic and Defense Affairs, Ministry of National Defense"]

[Text] (Own information) How to spend less and operate more efficiently? How to achieve great results within the military in the era of the second stage of the economic reform? These were among the questions discussed on 30 June at a session of the Council for Economic and Defense Affairs, Ministry of National Defense, chaired by First Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army Division General Mieczyslaw Dachowski.

Three basic items were on the agenda. First, Division General Jan Zielinski analyzed the development of the defense industry and its production costs. This cost is rising. Hence it is urgently necessary to breathe new life into measures to streamline the utilization of production capacities. Products should be increasingly better yet not too costly. Hence, ideas for specific so-called rationalization and conservation measures are being worked out. The participants in discussion on this topic included Division General Tadeusz Kusmierski, Brigade General Jan Wojtala, Colonel Leon Morawski, Colonel Kazimierz Glab, and Colonel Tadeusz Sredzinski. The activities of the military have always been based on cost-effectiveness accounting. Given the current difficult economic situation in this country, the army is attempting to explore new solutions in various domains of life and training. Our mentality too has to be changed. We must be more thrifty....

Second, the economic and technical consequences of the storage of military armaments and equipment were discussed by Brigade General Stanislaw Smolen with respect to the Pomeranian Military District, where much is being done to explore optimal ways and means of such storage. Generally speaking, this is governed by the applicable provisions on the use of property, which even refer to discrete arms of service. This also is governed by instructions on maintenance and use. The regulations specify the conditions for maintaining equipment in complete technical and combat readiness and operating readiness. But much depends on the human element, on ingenuity of individuals. Often even minor financial outlays can assure organizing storage and maintenance so as to prolong the useful life of equipment. Here, too, conservation is mandatory. Operating cost should be minimal, insofar as possible. This is assisted by the

interest in this problem. Equipment care among OPK [National Air Defense] troops was discussed by Brigade General Ryszard Michalik. In every military district and every arm of service exploration of latent potential is mandatory.

The third item on the agenda was the question of whether efficient management within the military has produced specific results. It was answered by Colonel Marian Daniluk, who said that such results do exist. The accomplishment of the so-called conservation tasks and the implementation of programs for streamlining economic performance within various structures of the armed forces have yielded to the military economy substantial organizational, training, and educational benefits.

The army will continually exert efforts to cut costs and at the same time elevate the level of training and life. It thus values human ingenuity, knowledge, expertise, initiative, inventiveness, and proactivism at every post. This was mentioned in the concluding address by Division General Mieczyslaw Dachowski. Improved organization and streamlined activity should help people. Higher efficiency is enjoined by the resolutions and materials of the 10th PZPR Congress, the decisions of the minister of national defense, and the resolutions of the 13th Central Conference for Efficient Management. Nowadays working, doing military service, has to be different -- efficient, effective, and still more rational and cost-effective.

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CSO: 2600/713



## DEFENSE, SCIENCE ACADEMY OFFICIALS MEET ON COOPERATION PLANS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 May 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by (W. Ch.): "MON-PAN Cooperation -- New Forms, Expansion of Research"]

[Text] (Own information) On 25 May in the headquarters of the Social Sciences Department I of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] in Warsaw, there was the latest meeting of the Commission on Social Sciences Cooperation Between the Academy of Sciences and the National Defense Ministry [MON]. The meeting was led by the commission chairmen, PAN Department I Secretary Professor Witold Hensel and Deputy Chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Michalik.

Means of carrying out enterprises called for in the "Schedule for realization of tasks set by meetings of the MON and PAN leadership" were discussed and special emphasis was given to planning research work on youth. This research concerns youth attitudes toward patriotism and national defense, the state of youth historical, political and social awareness, its attitude toward western ideologies and the extent to which those ideologies influence the young generation.

The problems discussed during the meeting will involve not only PAN establishments but also the Military Political Academy's Social Research Institute and Pedagogy Department. Within PAN, these studies will be conducted by its Institute of State and Law, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and Psychology Department. Individual civilian and military scholars will also be involved in youth research.

During the meeting, it was stated that there has been an institutional as well as thematic expansion in the research on youth problems. This research has been incorporated into the central research programs and plans of individual establishments. Cooperation between the PAN Pedagogical Sciences Committee and the Military Political Academy's Pedagogy Department has been successful.

The meeting also considered ways of achieving tighter cooperation in coordinating research and in disseminating its results. New forms of cooperation such as the creation of research teams were discussed along with the need for study of youth problems in their historical aspect and increased research of a sociological nature. Professors Bogdan Jaczewski and Jozef Ryszard Szaflik and colonels Zdzislaw Kosyrz, Czeslaw Staciwa and Wieslaw Zbikowski took part in the discussion.

Preliminary work was also started on preparations for the PAN academic session honoring the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Army in October 1968. There was also discussed PAN Department I's realization of the "Grunwald" research program started by the National Grunwald Committee.

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CSO: 2600/687

## SEJM NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION MEETS

AU060952 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Jun 87 pp 1, 5

[Janusz Grochowski report: "The Budget, Management, and Military Schooling"]

[Excerpts] There has recently been a definite increase in the amount of parliamentary work and the two meetings held by the Sejm Commission for National Defense held on 23 June attest to this.

Funds from the state budget for national defense and the results obtained through efficient management in the Armed Forces ensured that the most essential military needs, regarding the maintenance of skills and combat readiness, were satisfied and made it possible to create satisfactory social and living conditions for soldiers and civilian workers. This was the view expressed during the meeting, which was chaired by Prof Henryk Jablonski.

The second meeting held on Tuesday was attended by members of the three Sejm commissions: national defense, science and technical progress, and legislative work. The meeting examined proposed amendments to the law on military higher education. The meeting was chaired by Emil Kolodziej, head of the Sejm Commission for Legislative Work, and was attended by General of Arms Antoni Jasinaki, vice minister of national defense and Czeslaw Krolkowski, vice minister of science and education.

The proposed amendments are designed to raise the standard and efficiency of military education by, inter alia, improving the quality of the teaching cadre and the teaching and research base of higher schools. This effort will be assisted by enhancing the system for collaboration between higher military schools and units and cells of the Armed Forces that have a continuing interest in scientific matters, and by an improvement in cooperation between military higher schools and academic, research and development centers.

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CSO: 2600/716

## DEFENSE LEAGUE, EDUCATION MINISTRY VIEW COOPERATION PLANS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by Urszula Bodnar: "Cooperation of LOK Circles With Schools"]

[Text] (Own information) In the presence of the Deputy Minister for Cultural Literacy and Education Colonel Marian Anysz and the Chairman of the Main Board of the LOK [National Defense League] Division General Zygmunt Huszcza, a meeting devoted to cooperation between the Ministry of Cultural Literacy and Education and the National Defense League was held at the seat of the Main Board of the LOK.

The National Defense League engages in scheduled and propaganda activities at elementary and supraelementary schools and other educational and cultural institutions as based on the LOK Charter, the program of the Ministry of Cultural Literacy and Education, and the ordinance of the minister of cultural literacy and education concerning cooperation between schools and organizations for the ideological upbringing of youth.

The principal objective of the activities of the LOK school clubs is the patriotic-defense education of youth, promotion of polytechnical skills, and cooperation in implementing instructional programs and curriculums. School circles of the LOK cooperate with school authorities and organizations for the ideological upbringing of youth, especially in the field of the patriotic-defense education of youth.

During the meeting views and proposals for strengthening the cooperation and making it more attractive were exchanged. Cooperation between schools and the school circles of the LOK during not only the school year but also vacations in specialized camps, such as camps for defense training or sailing, has for years been producing very good results. This cooperation links youth to the League and its program, and it encourages and prepares the rising generation of Poles for continuing as League members their patriotic-defense activities following graduation from school, whether in higher school, in the workplace, or in one's domicile.

Such working meetings will be held each year, with the object of determining platforms of cooperation for the subsequent years.



## RESERVE OFFICERS CLUB MEMBERS MEET IN WROCLAW

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 1 Jun 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Stanislaw Radziszewski: "National Conference of the Aktiv of Reserve Officers Club of the LOK (National Defense League) in Wroclaw"]

[Text] On 29 and 30 May was held at the Club of the Silesian Military District in Wroclaw the Sixth National Conference of the Aktiv of LOK Reserve Officers Clubs. The conference was attended by Deputy Minister of National Defense for General Affairs Arms General Dr Antoni Jasinski, First Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Armed Forces and Chairman of the Social Commission for Reserve Officers Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, Chairman of the LOK Main Board Division General Zygmunt Huszeta, and Commander of the Silesian Military District Division General Jan Kuriata. Also present were the conference's hosts of Wroclaw Voivodship: First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Zdzislaw Balicki and Wroclaw Voivode Janusz Owczarek.

Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski stressed that the LOK Reserve Officers Clubs have been of good service to national defense in the 30 years of their existence. The proactivism of their members was and is evident in cities, gainas, settlements, and villages, as well as in plants and schools. A characteristic feature of their activities is their diversity and the variety of ways and means of employed by the local chapters.

Stressing the civic commitment of the club members, he said that it is confirmed by the fact that 45 members of LOK Reserve Officers Club have been elected to the Sejm and more than 5,000 to voivodship and basic-level people's councils.

In the discussion much attention was devoted to problems of a more effective work of the clubs in worker and academic communities and their cooperation with units of the People's Polish Army.

General Antoni Jasinski conveyed on behalf of the minister of national defense greetings and thanks for the activities of Reserve Officers Clubs in their communities, and he stressed that they provide a strong rear for the armed forces of People's Poland.

Many activists from Reserve Officers Clubs were decorated with the medals "For Contribution to National Defense" and "For Contribution to the LOK" and promoted to higher military ranks. The conference participants toured the WSOWI [Higher Engineer Officers School] and WSOWZ [Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School] and met with SPN [Reserve Officer Cadet School] cadets.

## DEFENSE LEAGUE YOUTH EDUCATION

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 10 Jun 87 p 6

[Article by Mieczyslaw Bielenia, Bialystok Board of the LOK (National Defense League): "The LOK and Youth; Patriotic-Defense Education"]

[Text] In Bialystok Voivodship at present there exist 810 LOK chapters associating nearly 36,000 members in urban areas, i.e., in plants and factories, as well as in the countryside and schools. School youth accounts for 40 percent of the overall membership of circles and clubs and for more than 50 percent of LOK membership. LOK members acquire and develop technical skills in 45 clubs specializing in model-building, communications, rifle marksmanship, defense sports, and scuba diving, as well as in 226 sections attached to the circles.

In the whole of the LOK's activities a special role is played by technical-defense sports. They are the most participatory form of the acquisition of practical skills useful to youth in military service. Each year more than 40,000 persons, mostly students and plant and institutional employees, participate in defense contests, with rifle marksmanship contests being especially popular.

Likewise the annual marine teletournament for youth is highly popular. The contestants are expected not only to display knowledge about maritime subjects but also to demonstrate skill in rifle marksmanship, grenade-throwing, and swimming.

The LOK trains youth to meet the needs of the armed forces for motor vehicle operators and frogmen as well as to meet the needs of the economy for drivers. Of major importance also is the specialized training in model-building and communications as a way of developing multidisciplinary technical and defense skills. Studies performed by the Military Institute for Social Studies and opinions expressed by commanders of military units indicate that conscripts who had belonged to the LOK while in school are better prepared for military service than other conscripts, have a greater store of basic knowledge about the Polish Army, and adapt themselves more rapidly to the conditions of military service.

The goals of the Bialystok Voivodship Board of the LOK for the next few years continue to be ambitious and extensive. The coming reports-elections campaign, which will extend to all LOK circles, specialized clubs, reserve officers' clubs, and city, city-gmina, and gmina boards of the League, will be accompanied by a thorough assessment of activities during 1983-1987 and the determination of directions of work for the next term of office. Plans exist for augmenting the tasks relating to various training courses and the participation of youth in defense and polytechnical sports. Training and sports facilities will continue to be expanded by, among other things, completing and equipping the voivodship defense sports center in Wasilkowo and organizing new clubs and sections for defense sports and skills, chiefly at schools. Out of concern for the expansion of polytechnical training, a showcase model-building workshop and a communications workshop will be set up under the Voivodship LOK Board. The participation of the LOK in summer recreational activities for youth will increase.

The LOK will continue to accomplish its tasks in cooperation with youth organizations, educational authorities, sports associations, housing cooperatives, and plants and factories.

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## SILESIAN MILITARY DISTRICT CONFERS ON TROOP MORALE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Captain St. Radziszewski: "Out of Concern for a High Morale of the Army"]

[Text] The defensive and moral strength of the army is decided by the ideological-political values and discipline of soldiers. This principle is known to every subunit commander as well as to the professional commanding cadres. The practical results are demonstrated by the achievements of subunits in mutual competition and the results of musters and inspections.

The training of young subunit commanders as educators varies depending on their educational background and experience. To complement knowledge on law, psychology, and sociology, and to exchange experience in disciplinary practice, meetings with representatives of the judiciary and the military procurature are often organized within units of the Silesian Military District. To complement knowledge of law, meetings between representatives of the administration of justice and military psychologists and recruits doing their basic military service as well as squad commanders also are being organized within units. The knowledge thus acquired helps attain good effects in actual disciplinary practice.

Within an armored unit of the Silesian Military District (SOW) was held a meeting between the Chief of the Political Directorate of the SOW Brigade General Dr Zdzislaw Rozbicki and young company and platoon commanders. The role of the command cadre in fostering committed attitudes among servicemen and strengthening high discipline in units was discussed. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the SOW's psychotherapy clinic and of the judiciary and the military procurature.

The Chief of the Political Directorate of the SOW stressed that company commanders of the subunit play an important role in the process of educating troops. They are not alone in this respect. They are supported by field officers and workers for such specialized institutions as the military organs of justice, psychologists, and sociologists, with their richer educational experience. Extensive assistance in promoting and strengthening teamwork spirit among servicemen is provided by the party and ZSM [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] chapters within the units as well as by public organizations.



During the discussion it was stressed that an important role in the proper selection of candidates for exercising specified functions within subunits is played by the military personnel offices and military psychologists. Problems of inculcating servicemen with the right attitude and of the influence of subunit commanders on the mentality of their subordinates during the performance of difficult training tasks were discussed by military psychologists and representatives of the judiciary and the procurature. Similar meetings will be held in early July within other units of the SOW.

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CSO: 2600/713

## MILITARY 'NOT' CLUBS AID QUEST FOR NEW TECHNOLOGY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by Staff Altern Zbigniew Pazdowski: "Innovations and Daily Life" surtitled "Symposium of Chairmen of Military SIMP Circles"]

[Text] The June meetings of the chairmen of military SIMP [Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians] Circles at units, higher officer schools and training centers of the Pomeranian Military District already are a 4-year tradition. This year's meeting was intended to consider current problems of the SIMP movement within the military, cooperation with local boards of the voivodship branches of the SNT NOT [Scientific-Technical Association, Supreme Technical Organization], exchange of experience, and measures to consolidate still further the military SIMP circles.

In recent years, as stressed in the report presented by the Chief of Technical Services and Deputy Commander of the Pomeranian Military District Brigade General Stanislaw Smolen, the "technologization" of armed forces, which has also spread to this district, has been under way. New generations of equipment have been and are being introduced, electronic fire guidance systems are spreading, and major changes have taken place in armaments, electronics, and the equipment of communication troops. During the meeting many other major problems were considered: the propagation of technical culture, adaptation and modernization of training and equipment base, development of ways and means of upgrading professional skills, streamlining armament and equipment systems, conserving raw and other materials and fuels, and taking measures to adjust the socio-occupational specialization of young military engineers and technicians.

For their accomplishments so far in these domains, 23 officers and warrant officers were distinguished.

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CSO: 2600/713

POLAND

MILITARY

IBM PC'S AID SWIDNIK AUTOMATION

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 17 May 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "New Computers for the Swidnik PZL Transportation Equipment Plant"]

[Text] Three IBM computers, two AT and one XT model, have been purchased for the Research and Development Center at the PZL [Polish Aviation Plant] Swidnik Transportation Equipment Plant. The new computers will be added to those already used there to form a data-processing network. An AUTOCAD system for design work and work-intensive drawing procedures is already in use. A designer first draws an assembly or part on the computer monitor and then uses the system to change or alter it. A peripheral line plotter then prints the image onto paper. The AUTOCAD system will be enhanced with a MES system (which simulates stresses on the element portrayed on the monitor screen, provides data about the magnitude of internal forces and gives the size and type of deformations once material data has been introduced). At the present time, the center's designers are all individually equipped with Sharp calculators with as much computing power as ZX Spectrum microcomputers. One department is already using an electronic graphic printer for large patterns. Word-processing programs are also used to edit texts. This eliminates burdensome and time-consuming rewriting, makes it easier and more efficient to create offers and write reports and reduces the time needed to access many documents.

12261

CSO: 2600/687

## COMMISSARIES RENT CONCESSION SPACE IN BID TO IMPROVE SERVICES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 May 87 p 5

[Article by Col Waldemar Makowiecki: "New Form of Business Services for Military Trade Centers"]

[Text] So far everyone is satisfied. Local military communities are because this gives them an opportunity to spend their free time in a worthwhile manner and show guests a good time. Coffee-house concessionaires are happy because they now receive good profits for their work. And the directors of the Warsaw District Military Trade Centers [WCH] Enterprise are also pleased because their establishment is prospering and turning a profit.

"To tell the truth," says Celina Mystkowska, "I was at first a little afraid to work in a concession. However, when my husband had to retire for reasons of bad health, I had to go to work to supplement our household income. Therefore, when the unit quartermaster offered me a job in the coffee-house concession, I accepted it".

That was in the autumn of 1981. Since then, Celina and Tadeusz Mystkowski have proved themselves to be earnest, conscientious workers, much concerned with the quality of their work. At the same time, thanks to the efforts of the unit commanders, the coffee house and substantially increased in size and that has substantially improved its profits.

One might be surprised at how well stocked it is. However, no one knows how much hard work has gone into getting the goods it needs and buying supplies from state-owned enterprises. The prices are reasonable.

As the signboard says, the coffee house is open everyday (except Mondays) from 10:00 to 1:00 and from 3:00 to 9:00. On Saturdays and Sundays, it is open from 10:00 to 9:00 and in the summer, it makes ice cream.

As Staff Sergeant Tadeusz Mystkowski says: "If there is some big event, our coffee house is open as long as necessary. For example, on induction day, we were open at 4:00 a.m. to give the families and friends of the inductees a



place to stop and drink some hot tea after their long trips. We also have wedding parties on the premises".

"It is true," says the Military Dependent's Organization activist, Krystyna Szczek, "that we use the coffee house for such events as putting up Christmas

trees, new year parties, Women's Day, Aviation Day and Polish Army Day because it offers us a well-run cultural service".

During a conversation at the unit's staff headquarters, we were duly assured that ever since the coffee house became a concession, it has had no problems with operating hours. This form of business has considerably improved supplies and service. On Saturday and Sunday, the coffee house is always open and it has a rich assortment of products.

"This form," stressed the commander, "is worth using everywhere. Just look at how much can be done under one roof. We do not have to find housing for the employees nor do we have to worry about overtime. Furthermore, it is an ideal situation for organizing events. All we have to do is get in touch with our concessionaire, and the coffee house will stay open as long we needed".

Some of the personnel and their families did not really understand just what a concession is and of course, there were also some signs of irritation. There was some potential for conflict, especially when an organizer brought his own food and drink and wanted to use the tableware, dishes and electricity for free.

"We are interested," says the chief director of the WCH, Col Edward Godlewski, "in having the greatest possible number of WCH services such as canteens, grocery stores and vegetable and fruit shops turned over to concessionaires. This gives retired persons and their families a chance to earn extra money. We are most interested in giving the concessions to married couples. We tell them: 'If you want to earn well, you must provide good service and meet the needs of your customers. The general principle is that these concessions must make a profit'".

Celina Mystkowska's coffee house has not operated at a loss. Every month, it has paid its set fees to the district WCH and the Mystkowski family has substantially improved its standard of living. Frankly speaking, they have done so at the cost of hard and serious work. They have had to give up many things. The truth of the matter is that when one works hard, then he or she earns more.

The commanders, personnel and local public appreciate the effort and selfless work of the concessionaires and this is evident in the numerous certificates of recognition for exemplary performance of duties, personal discipline and intensive efforts to satisfy the needs of the military community. One source of special pride is the thanks expressed by the local authorities for efficient and cultural services provided the local inhabitants through

contacts with the town and surrounding villages.

We must add that the local community receives a great number of tourists, especially in summer. Tourists are drawn to the area by water rich in fish, woods full of berries and mushrooms and a lovely beach on the lazily-flowing river. Therefore, it is not only army personnel and their families that enjoy the use of this coffee house but also visiting tourists.

On a visit to the local air force base, the national WCH director also learned about the activities and management of the local grocery store which is located in a small and crowded building. The working conditions are difficult. The employees, Anna Prochniak and Alicja Wojcik, do everything possible to give the store a pleasing appearance and provide the necessary goods.

"Our greatest problem," said the store's director, "is milk. If we do not sell it all, we have to pour it out at the end of the day. However, if we do not order enough for everyone who comes in, people get mad. We have the same problem with baked goods. Our efforts to sell milk by order has not been supported by our customers. We try to follow the principle of efficient management. The customers needs must be met but we cannot waste anything. What are we supposed to do to stop these losses?"

This is an important point because the same problems are found on other small bases. Consumer needs are important but so are profits.

At another base where one of the WCH grocery stores was operated on a commission system by Halina Tuchowska and Barbara Tom, we saw that military businesses are doing many things to meet the needs of their customers. Just like at any other time, on the day we visited the store, it was well-stocked with groceries.

"I like to come here," said Irena Szepiola, "because it is always clean, the employees are courteous and the supplies are good. Bread and pastry is here every morning. One can buy different kinds of tea, coffee, candy and jellies..."

"This is the best shop in our town," added Teresa Janowska. "They don't hide anything under the counter for their friends and everything is on the shelves".

We had a somewhat different impression of the trade pavilion near the army housing settlement. The very outside of the shop was unappetizing. The lawn and flower beds were unkempt. Inside the shop, the display of goods also left much to be desired and this did not give the best impression of the regional director or employees. After all, this shop serves not only the military community but also the local residents.

In short, this brief one-day reconnaissance showed that military business is,

in spite of certain shortcomings, really is doing many things to fulfill the needs of its customers, especially those in remote bases. At the same time it showed the great benefits of having small shops and businesses run by concessionaires.

12261

CSO: 2600/687

POLAND

MILITARY

#### BRIEFS

PILOTS TRAINED IN USSR--Pilots of the Warszawa First Fighter Regiment have been training at a range in the Soviet Union. Their main task was to shoot down targets flying at low and medium altitudes, as well as in the stratosphere. The tasks were accomplished. The men and their equipment got full marks in their tests. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 12 July 87 LD] \6662

CSO: 2600/716



## SATELLITE TV PLANNED FOR 1990'S

AU011212 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jun 87 p 2

["PEL"-signed article: "Radio and Television More Modern"]

[Excerpt] Satellite Transmission

Preparations for satellite transmission, which is planned to start at the beginning of the 1990's, are of great importance for the further development of television broadcasts. The first stage of the satellite transmission system is being ensured within the framework of the computerization [elektronizace] program of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000. In the first stage, the transmission satellites--also for joint use with the other socialist countries--are to have 1-2 channels, making it possible to broadcast the first and the second television programs. The signal from the satellite will be received and then relayed by land-based transmitters, which in the initial period will also enable reception of satellite programs by viewers who do not yet have the appropriate receives at their disposal. The signal will be further received by common television antennas, group and television cable distributors, and later also by individual land-based reception stations.

A further upswing in satellite transmission is being envisioned around the year 2000, when there should be multichannel broadcasts--4 to 5 television channels and a larger number (8 to 16) of stereo radio channels.

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CSO: 2400/380

## MODERNIZATION OF TV, RADIO EQUIPMENT

AU302009 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA staff Journalist Alena Ruzkova: "Improving Telecommunications Services; The Second Program Broadcasts..."]

[Excerpts] The communications sector will complete the construction of medium- and long-wave radio transmitters in the current 5-year plan. The construction of the West Slovakia telecommunications center will make it possible to better cover with signal the West Slovak and a large portion of the Central Slovak regions. The test operation is to begin at the beginning of next year. However, the communications' personnel is mindful that the area-covering VHF transmitters are presently being built in locations where VHF broadcasts could not be received to date, and where the reception of stereo programs is poor. The obsolete transmitters will be replaced after 1990.

For all practical purposes, the construction of the first station's network ended in 1975. Thereafter, the communications sector has continued building only relay stations and simultaneously renewing their technological equipment. Presently, this transmitting network is comprised of 11 basic and 24 area-covering transmitters, and more than 1,000 relay stations, which enables more than 98 percent of the population of the Republic to watch the first station. Its signal covers almost 95 percent of the state's territory.

CSSR Television began broadcasting the second station in 1970. It can be seen by 76.3 percent of the population. Eight new transmitters will come on line in the current 5-year period, among them Banska Stiavnica and Snina. The construction of television relay stations will also continue; funded by the ministry as well as by national committees.

Teletext--the broadcast of a television information service--will be the novelty in the sphere of telecommunications. By the beginning of next year, about 300 pages of various information will be in the second program's transmission network.

A two-channel sound transmission for owners of stereo television sets will begin in Prague and Bratislava in 1990.

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CSO: 2400/380

## BRIEFS

NUCLEAR PLANT MONITORING EQUIPMENT--In order to further increase operational safety at nuclear power plants, the Skoda enterprise of Plzen has purchased from the Kraftwerk Union A.G. of the FRG electronic equipment of the latest generation for the monitoring of the operating of the primary circuitry of such power plants. The equipment, which contains microprocessors, enables power plant operators to discover breakdowns quickly and in a timely manner and, equally quickly, to make decisions as to their repair. In addition, the two partners have concluded an agreement on joint experimental work to perfect this equipment further. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 87 p 2 AU] /6662

CSO: 2400/380

## CHANGES URGED IN TEACHING OF SOCIALIST POLITICAL ECONOMICS

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 4 Jun 87 p 3

[Roundtable interview with MSZMP Political Academy professor Laszlo Kahulits, Gyorgy Martin Hajda, a 5th year student at the Karl Marx University of Economics [MKKE], Tamas Nagy, scientific adviser to the Economic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [MTA], MKKE professor Kalman Szabo, and Katalin Szabo, editor-in-chief of KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE by Gabor Karsai: "Within and Beyond the Law"]

[Text] At issue: to what extent socialist political economics reflect reality; to what degree scientific socialist political economics provide theoretical foundations for economic policies and educational material for the development of an economic perspective.

[Question] Eleven years ago at the MKKE, one of those present at this meeting examined me on the subject of political economics. I randomly selected a topic and showed it to my examiner. "I trust you are aware of the fact that what the book contains on this subject makes no sense at all," he said. "But just go on, tell me ..." Showing no lenience, he demanded that I know all of the related material. In your collective view, to what extent was this view of the professor typical in the 1970's, and to what extent is it typical today?

[Nagy] In my view there is no single body of political economics. They are teaching completely different things in Yugoslavia and in the USSR, and in Hungary there are differences among our educational institutions also. The four volumes published by the MKKE--and within that the third volume that deals with socialism, the analysis of existing socialism--is a great step forward. A number of specialized books that deal with economic topics also contain matters that are relevant to political economics. These materials provide some theoretical guideposts so that one can orientate himself in the world. It is true though that this theory did not precede practice. It followed practice. But at least it can be taught in good conscience. This is in contrast to the practice of the 1970's, when textbooks were far behind the conceptions and practices of the new economic mechanism. Thus it was natural that progressive faculty members did not agree with the content of the textbooks they taught from.

[Katalin Szabo] I agree. There is no single body of political economics. Not even the various faculties agree with respect to everything. It is actually beneficial if within an institution there is competition among various workshops and schools of thought. This is a natural state--it is unnatural to aim for a unitary teaching of political economics, carved out of the same piece of wood. There were many who projected one view in their capacity as teachers, and another view as private persons. This schizophrenia undermined all our credibility. I consider academic freedom and the ability to identify with oneself as very important.

[Nagy] It is appropriate for a variety of views to gain legitimacy within a given faculty. But it amounts to very little if this variety means only that there are some who adhere to dogmas, and others who do not.

[Katalin Szabo] I fully agree with that. Political economics had to, and still has to regain its credibility--credibility it lost as a result of some scholastic theses that were far removed from reality. The main path toward regaining credibility is the generalization of practical problems, and from the viewpoint of methodology: reliance on empirical research findings.

In spite of all efforts to the contrary, on occasion even our new political economics relapse into making the mistake of presenting goals as reality. We state, for instance, that socialism is a future-oriented society. This statement, however, is true only in terms of a requirement. Facts, such as financial motivation and the lack of a long-term perspective prove the contrary.

[Katalin Szabo] I agree that political economics--the science, not the teaching--fell behind the actual practice. On the other hand, there are instances which indicate that the reverse is true. For example, it is precisely with respect to financial motivation that theory is ahead of practice.

[Nagy] I do not believe this to be true. It is in practice that one finds out just how troublesome the lack of financial motivation can be, while theory has yet to come up with convincing, realistic, comprehensive recommendations. There also emerged some issues that were far from having achieved theoretical clarity, such as whether or not self-governance, self-regulation can be at all consistent with the corporate form of financial interest.

[Kahulits] It is obvious that political economics must be in harmony with practice. But with what kind of practice? With that deformed, voluntarist practice that became possible under socialism, or with the more desirable and more possible rational practice? Science cannot provide prescriptions, it must endeavour to resolve problems.

I agree with Tamas Nagy's statement, according to which we find various textbooks on political economics in the various countries. But there is yet another variant. In the USSR for instance, there appeared a political economics textbook edited by academician Abalkin, and the old editions were withdrawn. But a significant number of political economics teachers does not accept the new approach.



[Nagy] In general, and including in Hungary, there are many conservatives among those who teach political economics.

[Kahulits] It is difficult to change the minds of people far removed from practice--individuals who over a 30-40 year period became accustomed to a certain theoretical system. Disregarding the antipathy of the audience, the teaching of a theoretical system they are accustomed to teach becomes comfortable.

[Martin Hajdu] Although I will graduate only this year, I have been teaching political economics at the university for a year. Some of my old acquaintances are stunned about this fact. And I am not amazed about their being stunned--I am familiar with the political economics textbooks they used in technical, medical and other universities and academies.

[Nagy] In high schools specializing in economics, textbooks predate Noah's Ark.

[Kahulits] The Ministry of Culture and Education had a contest for the writing of political economics textbooks to be used in high level educational institutions. Not one of the submitted works was useable.

[Kalman Szabo] During the 1950's, endeavours for mass education and institutionalization were often detrimental to the cultivation of science, even though teaching should never be artificially separated from research. It is no wonder then that many educators are not suited to perform scientific work.

[Katalin Szabo] But one cannot deny credit to political economists for the perseverance of traditional political economics.

[Kalman Szabo] Let's not paint the past darker than it really is. Economist who graduated in the late 1950's, early 1960's made best use of their knowledge of statistics, according to assessments made 10 years later. And it is this generation that constitutes the professional core of the 1968 reform.

[Martin Hajdu] My father is a practical economist. He says that today's political economics textbooks reflect total theoretical confusion. Students using these textbooks will not know what principles to abide by. This is in contrast to earlier textbooks. The old textbooks gave faith, the new ones do not.

[Nagy] Except for the fact that the faith you are talking about cannot endure, because real life is terribly different from what one learned in school. By the 1970's this fact became quite obvious to those sitting in classrooms.

[Katalin Szabo] Admittedly, the new textbook encourages independent thought rather than blind faith. I believe it made good for much of the several decades of lag in political economics. The danger of falling behind, however threatens again and again. We began to lay the foundations for the new textbooks in the mid-seventies. Since then the world has changed, the science

of economics has developed much further, university reform presents new needs, and some justified criticisms stemming from didactic requirements suggest that we make some changes. We cannot just sit here satisfied with our accomplishments.

[Question] Somehow I feel that today's textbooks parallel prevailing perceptions. For example: in the four-volume political economics textbook the volume that deals with socialism no longer contains the traditional laws of political economics--the ones that appeared in the first Soviet textbook of 1954. At the same time, the volume's textbook character suggests that it not argue the validity of the fundamental laws of socialism, whether it is the law of planned, proportional development or of a distribution according to labor. The volume is silent on these issues, even though other textbooks deal with them. These issues are not subjects of ideological or public debate ... they barely become the subject of debate ... they are being brought up less frequently ... nevertheless, to date they have not been rejected. The textbook's silence on these issues carries the threat that political economics will continue to affect practice in a manner that retards change.

[Kalman Szabo] The time has come to change our attitude that has prevailed ever since the 1930's. This attitude manifests itself in holding responsible the economic sciences for the practical problems of the economy. We should not be amazed about the deterioration of social sciences and about the appearance of low level scientific works, as long as economic policy makers expect affirmations rather than critique from the social sciences and as long as conditions for debate are missing.

[Katalin Szabo] I am far from idolizing the available opportunities for scientific research, but the extent to which a majority of political economics scientific researchers have fallen behind the levels of knowledge that exists both in Hungary and abroad cannot be blamed solely on external circumstances. Frequently these researchers are unaware of research findings that were made in Hungary and abroad.

[Kalman Szabo] That is true. But let us not forget that the education and the upbringing of student masses has overburdened their capacities. And to top it off, not unlike other groups within the intelligentsia, they too had to struggle with financial and moral disadvantages in order to satisfy the creative aspects of their vocation and of their science.

[Katalin Szabo] Reverting to the original issue: I too believe that the propagation of certain ideological doctrines within political economics has caused and continues to cause severe damage to socialist economies. These include the identification of large enterprises as being characteristic of socialism, and the categoric rejection of private enterprise.

[Kahulits] I attribute the disappearance of laws to the transition from the earlier political economics that were removed from reality. New political economics tries to describe the system of economic dynamics, the conduct of the actors within the economy and the circumstances that define their conduct. New political economics do not reach the stage of defining the laws.

[Question] Are the laws included in the curriculum taught at the Political Academy?

[Kahulits] That's a difficult question. We do have an official textbook that includes the traditional laws, and then we have a curriculum that is actually being taught. In the latter, certain chapters of the textbook were substituted with some other text, as for instance segments of the four-volume textbook, and other specialized literature. Our faculty considers the definition of traditional laws as alien to real life situations, but it also views as its task to reach new syntheses as a result of practical analysis, and to define actually functioning economic laws.

[Nagy] We should discard the idea of discovering some basic, specific laws which provide a priori definitions for the functioning and development of "the" socialist economy. There are no such laws. On the other hand, just as in existing capitalist nations, socialist nations too have some specific regularities--laws, if you will--which can and must be recognized. Such regularities are being described in new political economics.

Considering the four-volume political economics textbook, I feel that a comparison of existing capitalist and socialist systems is missing. Similarities and differences should have been presented. Obviously, I do not have in mind the revival of the old ideological doctrines, e.g. that anarchy characterizes the capitalistic economy, while orderly planning characterizes the socialist economy. But we should be able to address these issues ... one cannot simply leave it to the imagination of students.

[Kahulits] A comparison is difficult because compared to capitalism, socialism is a much more recent experiment. Its characteristics are more difficult to define.

[Kalman Szabo] My former professor Tamas Nagy and I have been debating the issue of orderly planning for thirty years. The past 10-15 years of the Hungarian economy stand as proof. For example, the fact of renewed reform efforts amounts to no more than an expression of an objective tendency toward planned development.

[Nagy] The fact that as a result of market functions, there is a socialist opportunity for rational planning at the people's economy level, and that we are able to define the content and limitations of such planning is one thing. The large degree of an absence of planning and disproportions that present themselves in existing socialism is another matter.

[Kalman Szabo] I published a rather heavy book concerning the problematics of value and proportion that cannot be viewed separate from orderly planning. As it so often happens, despite a number of substantive findings and explanations there has yet to take place substantive debate concerning these issues. Even though argumentative criticism, be it in the affirmative or in the negative, is an indispensable criterion for the evolution of any science. At present we are advocating the activation of market forces. It would not hurt to see some in-depth critical analyses. Such analyses could protect us from becoming

biased--a sin committed by so many of us 30-35 years ago when we tried to provide supportive arguments and explanations to a mechanism that was based on plan directives.

[Nagy] Any school of political economics that makes sense will support market economics, and at the same time will demonstrate the imperfections of the market. Aside from Tibor Liska, I have not seen a significant Hungarian economist who would have viewed the market as the sole, absolute determinant.

[Question] The article concerning orderly planning in the small dictionary of political economics does not even mention the market category. Isn't this far more characteristic than the view that holds the market as the absolute economic force?

[Katalin Szabo] One can find progressive tendencies, nevertheless. The entry of the economic sciences behind the closed walls of political economics is an irreversible process. Conservative trends in political economics always stem from theory being removed from practice. Truly scientific political economics cannot be anything else but the science of economics.

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## PROBLEMS IN DEPRESSED AGRICULTURAL REGIONS DETAILED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by State Secretary Miklos Villanyi, Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry (MEM)]

[Text] Partly as a result of the overall economic conditions, Hungarian agriculture is experiencing difficult years. For this reason a greater value than before has been assigned to renewal, and to every opportunity for, and form of increased production. This is particularly true in today's world of limited resources. And this has a special meaning in our depressed regions, in areas where conditions for agricultural production are not favorable, and where the income-producing base is sharply limited.

Straightening out the situation of farm cooperatives and state farms in depressed areas is a priority developmental task of government. These farms struggle because of a shortage of resources. The related societal concern transcends the issue of agricultural production by large agricultural enterprises. Everyone who lives and works in backward areas senses these difficulties because they impact on their daily lives, their provisions and standard of living. In some areas backwardness has already caused social tensions. This is why area-wide and community development action on a societal scale is necessary.

Most economically backward areas have weak agricultural production capacities. Their land values, figured in gold crown, are below average and suffer from repeated and extensive inland water and flood damage. A large proportion of farms constitutes loss operation and is indebted. Their allied activities are undeveloped--there are only a few trained workmen, and income levels are low. These areas attract only a few industrial enterprises, public roads are in bad condition, mass transit systems are rare, and the quality of telephone service is worse than the average quality in villages nationwide. Settlements in most backward areas are small villages; during the previous decade the exodus from these villages was larger than the national average.



## Backward Lifestyle

As a result of the exodus, the average age of the population is not conducive to productive work. There are many old people. A disproportionately large part of active, working-age people commute, and there is a large number of Gypsies. The educational level is below average. The supply of provisions to the inhabitants is unsatisfactory and service provisions are undeveloped. In most communities elementary education in the higher grades is nonexistent, drinking water is not healthy and the regional physician sees patients only on occasion.

Taken together, these factors produced a situation in which the social and economic backwardness of these areas turned into a continuous, often continuously deteriorating process. In the absence of appropriate interference the danger of irreversibility exists. Impermissible socio-political differences could evolve between the backward areas and other parts of Hungary.

International experience in regional development proves that the resolution of such problems requires governmental programs and intervention. A variety of methods have been applied in various countries, nevertheless all are similar in two respects: they endeavour to raise the standards of the backward area to the national level, and they use direct subsidies as well as indirect methods and means, such as tax reductions and low interest credit, to achieve the desired level of development. They endeavour that income produced within backward areas be spent where the income was produced.

Based on these considerations, a central and regional program applicable to seven counties was launched. Agriculture is the prime target of the program with a focus on the counties of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Szabolcs-Szatmar. The pre-requisites for certain developmental projects were already established in 1986. Quite naturally, from the viewpoint of development, backward areas cannot be treated rigidly along the lines of political subdivisions. As soon as resources begin to expand, new areas must be added in order to gradually overcome the problems.

Within the seven counties there are 23 backward areas with 573 communities. This constitutes 10 percent of Hungary's total area, 19 percent of its settlements and four percent of the population. At present the resident population of these areas numbers 631,000. More than half of these citizens reside in the counties of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Szabolcs-Szatmar. Compared to the population of 15 years ago, the present number shows a decrease of 83,000 persons, mainly attributable to the exodus toward large cities.

Active wage earners in these areas constitute 42.6 percent of the population. This ratio is smaller than the national average. Female employment is at a particularly low level. As a result of the average age and main occupational structure of villages, the available reserve workforce numbers more than 10,000. Only 58 percent of all wage earners is able to find work locally, 81,000 persons commute.

The occupational structure corresponds with the economic productivity and other features that can be found in various areas. Agriculture plays a

definitive role from the viewpoint of employment. Forty-two percent of the 200,000 wage earners is engaged in agricultural work. This is double the ratio of the national average. Industrial employment is very low: only 22 percent of wage earners pursue industrial labor, and most of these find employment in factories and plants outside the areas. Service industries provide employment opportunities to somewhat more than 10 percent of the wage earners. These statistics are revealing from the viewpoint of adequacy of supplies and services also.

#### Occupational Concerns

Eighty-four percent of the active wage earners are physical laborers, as compared to a 69 percent national average. At the same time, only 16 percent of the active workforce holds white collar jobs, as compared to a national average of 31 percent. The combined number of inactive wage earners and dependents per active wage earner exceeds the national average by 22 percent.

The 179 farm cooperatives and 10 state farms in the backward areas cultivate altogether 470,000 hectares of arable land. According to their balance sheets, in 1985 a part of these agricultural enterprises recorded a 995 million forint profit, while the rest finished the year with a loss of 420 million forints. Their situation remained essentially unchanged in 1986. Average per hectare yields were as follows: 3.5 tons of wheat (120,000 hectares); 5.6 tons of corn (79,000 hectares); 33.1 tons of sugarbeets (5,600 hectares); and 1.5 tons of sunflower seeds (20,000 hectares.) These average yields are lower than the national average, while related production costs are higher.

Concerning animal husbandry, farming enterprises are engaged primarily in raising beef cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry. Regulatory changes have encouraged growth in this area: at present there are 154,000 heads of cattle, 257,000 hogs and 202,000 sheep in backward area farms.

An annual income of 2.4 billion forints stems from produce grown and animals raised on small farms, marketed by large enterprises. One-third of this amount represents the sale of hogs. It is unfortunate that the opportunity for development of allied activities within these farms is highly limited.

In spite of generally adverse conditions, however, depressed area farms also show some encouraging signs. In part as a result of regular state subsidies, several farms have strengthened their management and organization, and have accomplished annual increases in income. Their increasingly profitable activities have also increased their members' standard of living.

#### Features and Goals

Our tasks aimed at the development of agricultural production in backward areas are well defined and numerous. Our basic goal is to establish the foundations for successful farming. We will accomplish this through a transformation of the production structure and through the proper utilization of resources. The expansion of profitable industrial service activities and the related creation of a number of new jobs has top priority, however.

In order to accomplish this goal we must improve the production structure. Animal husbandry and crop production must be adjusted to the production structure. We must establish an appropriate occupational structure, organized work, firm management and an incentive system also, as well as methods by which locally produced materials can be processed.

The prevention of inland water and flood damages is the preliminary condition of bringing an end to repeated losses suffered by large agricultural enterprises. Within the economically backward areas, melioration and soil improvement is warranted on 175,000 hectares of land. Improvements on 100,000 hectares will be accomplished during the seventh 5-year plan. The remaining 75,000 hectares can be improved during the subsequent plan period.

There is a need for the introduction of crop rotation. Soil improvement and rational land use would favorably influence the areas' production capacity. In order to accomplish this, however, it is important that the culture of crop production improve generally and significantly, and that soil management take place on a more planned and professional basis.

The raising of technical standards is also indispensable. The condition of the present agricultural machine inventory in the affected areas is unsatisfactory. The anticipated increase in crop yield necessitates the acquisition of a new fleet of agricultural machines. This acquisition process must be pursued in earnest.

Animal husbandry in backward areas is burdened by even heavier problems than crop production. It constitutes a loss operation in most farms; anticipated regulatory changes alone will provide no relief. The introduction of a modified structure for animal husbandry is a primary objective. It is unfortunate that the structural condition of, and the technical equipment contained in stables and barns has deteriorated and become obsolete. They require renewal by all means. A large majority of the farms is unable to accomplish this by using either their own resources or credit. It is for this reason that we support the idea of animal outplacement to household farms or to specialized groups. In the same vein, we support the leasing of fertile or grazing land presently within the large enterprise structure, but which is hard to cultivate, and share-cropping on lands that produce fodder.

The chief goal of developing industrial service activities is to expand the food processing industry, and to provide for and make use of the efficient processing of local base materials, such as wood, stone, gravel, lime powder, fruits and vegetables. Construction industry efforts too could show great results. Based on locally available opportunities, transportation and other services should also be expanded. A number of scenic villages could do more to explore foreign tourism opportunities as a means to produce income. Several European countries provide stimulating examples in this respect.

There are appropriate initiatives for the establishment of bottling facilities for mineral water and other refreshments. Preparatory work for the manufacture of brooms and brushes, the wiring of electrical motors, the weaving of baskets for champagne bottles, the establishment of locksmith shops and chemical and synthetic processing plants, the manufacture of confectionary goods and shoe uppers, and the establishment of a weavery is in progress.

### Active Cooperation

In order to expand the allied activities, to encourage a more structured phasing in of such activities as well as a more broadly based linkage between the needs of cooperatives and industrial opportunities, the MEM, in cooperation with the Ministry of Industry created a joint organization. The purpose of this organization is to help bring about cooperation between buyers and manufacturers, to introduce new industrial opportunities, and to thereby increase income and employment. Unfortunately, the cooperative interest manifested by industrial enterprises is insufficient, and therefore further efforts in this respect will be necessary.

Realization of the above-mentioned agricultural production goals is being furthered by several factors. Both farm cooperatives and state farms may compete for the performance of base functions, as well as allied functions. Needless to say, the prevailing tight financial conditions present limitations. Of 400 competitive plans submitted in the County of Szabolcs only 27 were found acceptable. In the County of Baranya the allocation for base functions amount to 18 million forints only, a sum equal to the amount allocated for the development of allied functions.

In each county the expendable part of the Area Development and Organization Fund is being allocated. Based on all of the above, the nationwide allocation in 1987 permits the initiation of 700 million forints worth of developmental work. As a result of this, employment in large agricultural enterprises may expand, and the processing and use of materials found locally can increase to levels higher than before. Within the backward areas the affected farms can receive soil improvement subsidies that were increased by 10 percent. They can also take advantage of state subsidies earmarked for the renewal of animal husbandry facilities. The allocation earmarked for large plants operating under unfavorable conditions provides a number of opportunities. Similarly, production-related tax reductions, professional assistance and the cancellation of debts yield new opportunities. The latter form of assistance was announced this year, and is conditioned by compliance with certain performance standards.

Used in a flexible manner, the above means could enable affected farms to begin to catch up with the rest of the nation, and to accomplish 6 billion to 11 billion forints worth of developmental work.

Accordingly, there is hope that the situation of the 23 backward areas will gradually improve, and that at last it is not solely the efforts of farm cooperatives and state farms one can count on. There now exists a comprehensive complex program that aids the achievement of developmental goals. The further expansion of industrial service activities has a significant role in this respect. The idea of abandoning the agriculture of backward areas is out of question. Under any circumstances, however, we must bring about a situation in which the agricultural production of these areas is responsive to market conditions. Changes and improvements in this area will render Hungarian agriculture more competitive.



## DIFFERENT DOMESTIC, EXPORT CRITERIA CALLED HARMFUL TO ECONOMY

Budapest FIGYELŐ in Hungarian 21 May 87 p 7

[Article by Dr Jozsef Berenyi: "It Won't Work Without Competition"]

[Text] One cannot say that the Hungarian economy is devoid of competition. But whatever competition there exists, it is not strong enough to force continuous renewal and to increase effectiveness and efficiency. Enterprises use two different sets of criteria for the evaluation of products. One set applies to products manufactured for export, another set for products destined for domestic consumption. Consumers are aware of this fact--this is why "export leftovers" are popular in the domestic market. On the other hand, it is only on rare occasions that products destined for domestic consumption can be sold to economically developed nations. Instances when such products can be sold at a profit are even more rare.

An enterprise that does not face competition in the domestic market cannot become competitive in the foreign markets. To use a comparison from the world of sports: it would be futile to prepare a select team of athletes for world competition, if that team had been "isolated" from the rest of the athletes and could thus achieve an effortless winning score at home.

Competition presumes a certain surplus of supplies, a surplus that in practice enables the consumer to bypass the purchase of goods that are surpassed by other available goods--in terms of price, quality and technology. We too have a surplus of supplies in certain goods, nevertheless it frequently occurs that a surplus product at one time turns into a shortage product at another time, and vice versa. This phenomenon occurs in all kinds of economies, but in competitive economies surplus supply and demand is settled largely through the interaction of market forces, i.e. of the labor force and of capital movements. And besides, there is a substantial difference between surplus supplies that result from competition, as compared to others that do not result from competition.

In functioning market economies surplus supply is a result of competing products that have better quality or are relatively lower priced. These



competing products render the inferior quality product unsaleable. A surplus in supply thus forces the manufacturer of the inferior quality product to either cease production or to improve quality so as to be able to compete with the leading producers.

In contrast, if a surplus in supply is caused by forces other than competition, the surplus will not activate the market forces. In most instances the surplus will not increase the available merchandise choice, instead it will increase the inactive inventory and thus constitute waste. The common remedy for temporal surplus supplies in Hungary, i.e. the export of the surplus, is not a viable alternative, because in most instances the surplus is not exportable. The market mechanisms that would flexibly adapt the surplus to market conditions does not function either.

To put an end to surplus supplies, Hungarian enterprises often receive subsidies from governmental authorities. On occasion, these products are often being forced to be sold domestically, and these are actually superfluous products. This conduct by economic management may be explained by the fact that certain specialized ministries assume the task of enterprise interest representation. They also believe that by virtue of their subsidizing and re-directing action they actually serve the interest of the people's economy. Actually, however, the burden of reducing or liquidating surplus production should not be borne by the consumer, at a time when enterprises are being freed from these burdens.

Under market economy conditions in times of recession, uncompetitive businesses quickly fold, while competitive businesses experience increased, rapid technological development. All this lays the foundation for a new boom. In contrast, in the absence of competition, even if the economy stagnates or grows only slowly, enterprises are not being forced to renew themselves in the interest of survival. This is even more so when due to budgetary deficits the withdrawals by the state are great.

One of the fundamental conditions for the evolution of competition would be the discontinuation of special status granted to certain enterprises. Monopolistic situations in Hungary did not come about as a result of market pressures, but rather on the basis of government subsidies. Accordingly, the destruction of monopolies should also be viewed as a task assigned to state economic management. (A variety of possible anti-monopolistic actions was described in an article by Gyorgy Matolcsay and Eva Voszka in FIGYELO No 14 1987.) Needless to say, the cessation of monopolies is only one of the pre-conditions upon which competition rests.

In a small country like Hungary, one can hardly avoid situations in which a single enterprise supplies the entire domestic market with a given product. The trouble begins when that manufacturer is not even potentially threatened by competing imported products.

The market could function well if it would exclude the possibility of turning the savings of one enterprise into an even greater expense in another enterprise. The exclusion of this possibility would force enterprises to produce efficiently and to abide by the laws of demand.

As long as prices fail to reflect costs, reimbursement of expenses often takes place where those expenses were not incurred at all. Quite logically, producers, wholesalers and retailers consider only their own share of expenses--they are not interested in whether their added costs produce savings somewhere else, so that in the end, at the people's economy level the government can show an overall cost reduction.

In today's economic mechanism the endeavour to achieve a balanced price can at most be viewed as economic action that may be temporarily appropriate. Price balancing means the raising of prices in case of shortages so as to reduce consumption, i.e. the exclusion of part of the consumers from the opportunity of consuming, or stimulating consumers to consume less. In an economy in which there is no competition, higher prices are not followed by increased production, because there is no flexible capital flow. Accordingly, the practice of balancing prices--on occasion prices that significantly exceed costs in the long term--cannot fulfill the same role as it does in a functioning market economy. In market economies it is not production that is being adjusted to demand. It is in the reverse: demand is being adjusted through higher prices to the available supply.

According to the prevailing view, not one state or cooperative enterprise should suffer a loss by virtue of competition, because, after all, everything is within state or cooperative ownership.

I designated the surplus of supplies and the limitation of monopolistic situations as the fundamental conditions for competition. Neither of these conditions can come about, however, without a further development of economic reform. In order to have competition we must have independent enterprises materially interested in, and capable of conducting economic activities. In order to accomplish this, state economic management must manifest a certain conduct, one that does not subsidize weak enterprises to the detriment of strong ones, one that enables good enterprises to become better and the still viable enterprises to catch up, one that permits the non-viable enterprises to go out of business. In other words, the government must conduct itself in a manner so as to enhance the possibility of accomplishing the much needed structural transformation. It can do so by permitting enterprises to adapt to the market conditions of competition.

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## LIMITS ON FORMING PARTNERSHIPS CRITICIZED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 11 Jun 87 p 22

[Text] The new Order governing business partnerships went into effect 1 January 1987 (see detailed report FIGYELO 1987/18.) It expanded partnership opportunities for business organizations, at the same time, however, it did not include small enterprises that are not legal persons among those "favored" by the new provisions. Since the expansion of business activities largely depends on partnership opportunities, affected interests urge the revision of the Order. We asked the organizations representing these interests to summarize the types of changes they view necessary, and the steps they have taken so far.

## National Organization Of Small Tradesmen [KIOSZ]

The issue of forming small enterprise partnerships has not been settled in a satisfactory manner. Small enterprises at present may form partnerships in two ways--by establishing either a business association or a civil law association. These two forms do not present a real choice: activities subject to permits issued by the authorities may be pursued only within the business association form. Accordingly, the opportunities for partnership within small enterprises are rather limited. There is no opportunity to choose a partnership form that best suits the business interest. In the absence of a legal person, the overly bureaucratized restrictions flowing from strict rules of responsibility, a limited functional scope and a limited number of employees, render business associations incapable of responding to economic policy initiatives which view the role of these associations as complementing large industry. For this reason business associations nowadays do not transcend the limits of a more or less intensive cooperation between friends or colleagues--they are not real business enterprises.

Present economic conditions would demand solutions that far exceed the limited opportunities presently available under law. On the one hand, we would like

to see that private persons too could establish small enterprises having a legal person; on the other hand, there should be a method and an opportunity for these small enterprises to join partnerships that were created by state enterprises and cooperatives. We view the form of limited liability corporation as a suitable form to be introduced in the private sector. Increased private capital would be gradually attracted if private partnerships could participate in stock corporations as silent partners.

Last year the Ministry of Justice proposed a modification of rules pertaining to business associations. This proposal was published for comment. Among other things, the proposal contained language that would have enabled private persons to form limited liability corporations. KIOSZ supports this proposal. Unfortunately, however, a real reform of business associations did not come about. The result was a half-baked solution: it is now possible to apply regulatory provisions based on 19th Century law governing commerce, as those apply to stock corporations and limited liability corporations. This, however, did not resolve the problems of partnership experienced by small enterprises. We trust that the Ministry of Justice will take another look at this issue in the near future.

#### National Association Of Small Merchants [KIOSZ]

The revision of Order No 4 of 1978 (Order No 34 of 1986) enabled Hungarian legal persons to form stock corporations or limited liability corporations. This change in laws has no bearing on private commerce because the revised law continues to prohibit small merchants to use either of these forms.

The specialized ministry having jurisdiction informed us that legal provisions applicable to small enterprises and to partnerships between private individuals are being drafted. These draft provisions, however, were not yet published for comment. Accordingly, we are not in a position to offer an opinion. In our view there should be legal provisions that encourage the joint use of various forms of property--e.g. private property and state property, the establishment of partnership forms that permit the concentration of assets owned by several private individuals having a legal person, as well as the creation of simple forms of partnership. Our national association can render an opinion only in response to proposed legal provisions.

#### National Federation Of Small Trade Cooperatives [OKISZ]

The 1986 proposal for the revision of various orders pertaining to business associations suggested that limited liability corporations could be formed with the participation of citizens and of small enterprises. This idea was clearly worded. It was evident that the proposal viewed this form of business as a typical form of capital concentration for small enterprises. The first draft of the proposal enabled already functioning stock corporations to sell shares to private persons and to small enterprises under certain limitations.

In this respect OKISZ recommended that small enterprises be permitted not only to purchase stock, but also to participate in the establishment of stock corporations, provided that they complied with certain conditions stipulated in advance and were within limitations provided by law. We find it unjusti-

fied to relieve small enterprises from the burden of risk associated with stock corporations, but at the same time to permit small enterprises to purchase stock in already well functioning stock corporations.

12995

CSO: 2500/458



## 500 TOP MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISES RANKED

Warsaw ZARZADZANIE in Polish No 6, Jun 87 pp 46-63

[Text]

[Chart on following page]

## Key:

1. Sales ranking
2. Name of industry and branch symbol
3. Sales
4. Export
5. Aggregate net earnings
6. Net earnings
7. Total tax liability
8. Sales tax
9. Income tax
10. Total subventions
11. Total tax credits
12. Allocations from profits to development fund
13. Net profitability
14. Net output
15. Average employment
16. Productivity of labor
17. Average monthly wage
18. Productive fixed assets (gross book value on 31 Dec)
19. Fixed assets depreciation rate
20. Operating Fund-Reserves Coefficient
21. mln. zl = in millions of zlotys  
poz. = ranking  
liczba zatr. = number of employees  
tys. zl = in thousands of zlotys
22. Total
23. Share of "500" in total

(12)

# 500 WYBRANYCH PRZEDSIĘBIÓRSTW PRZEMYSŁU

[illegible]

# 2 MATERIAL LOW GUS

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Z MATERIAL LOW GUS

| LSTA 500 |   | (12) |   | (13) |     | (14) |   | (15) |    | (16) |    | (17) |    | (18) |    | (19) |    | (20) |    |
|----------|---|------|---|------|-----|------|---|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8 | 9    | 10 | 11   | 12 | 13   | 14 | 15   | 16 | 17   | 18 | 19   | 20 |
| 1        | 2 | 3    | 4 | 5    | 6</ |      |   |      |    |      |    |      |    |      |    |      |    |      |    |

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|      |      | (21) |      | (22) |      | (23) |      | (24) |      | (25) |      | (26) |      | (27) |      | (28) |      | (29) |      | (30) |      |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 012  | 013  | 014  | 015  | 016  | 017  | 018  | 019  | 020  | 021  | 022  | 023  | 024  | 025  | 026  | 027  | 028  | 029  | 030  | 031  | 032  | 033  |
| 034  | 035  | 036  | 037  | 038  | 039  | 040  | 041  | 042  | 043  | 044  | 045  | 046  | 047  | 048  | 049  | 050  | 051  | 052  | 053  | 054  | 055  |
| 056  | 057  | 058  | 059  | 060  | 061  | 062  | 063  | 064  | 065  | 066  | 067  | 068  | 069  | 070  | 071  | 072  | 073  | 074  | 075  | 076  | 077  |
| 078  | 079  | 080  | 081  | 082  | 083  | 084  | 085  | 086  | 087  | 088  | 089  | 090  | 091  | 092  | 093  | 094  | 095  | 096  | 097  | 098  | 099  |
| 100  | 101  | 102  | 103  | 104  | 105  | 106  | 107  | 108  | 109  | 110  | 111  | 112  | 113  | 114  | 115  | 116  | 117  | 118  | 119  | 120  | 121  |
| 122  | 123  | 124  | 125  | 126  | 127  | 128  | 129  | 130  | 131  | 132  | 133  | 134  | 135  | 136  | 137  | 138  | 139  | 140  | 141  | 142  | 143  |
| 144  | 145  | 146  | 147  | 148  | 149  | 150  | 151  | 152  | 153  | 154  | 155  | 156  | 157  | 158  | 159  | 160  | 161  | 162  | 163  | 164  | 165  |
| 166  | 167  | 168  | 169  | 170  | 171  | 172  | 173  | 174  | 175  | 176  | 177  | 178  | 179  | 180  | 181  | 182  | 183  | 184  | 185  | 186  | 187  |
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| 1046 | 1047 | 1048 | 1049 | 1050 | 1051 | 1052 | 1053 | 1054 | 1055 | 1056 | 1057 | 1058 | 1059 | 1060 | 1061 | 1062 | 1063 | 1064 | 1065 | 1066 | 1067 |
| 1068 | 1069 | 1070 | 1071 | 1072 | 1073 | 1074 | 1075 | 1076 | 1077 | 1078 | 1079 | 1080 | 1081 | 1082 | 1083 | 1084 | 1085 | 1086 | 1087 | 1088 | 1089 |
| 1090 | 1091 | 1092 | 1093 | 1094 | 1095 | 1096 | 1097 | 1098 | 1099 | 1100 | 1101 | 1102 | 1103 | 1104 | 1105 | 1106 | 1107 | 1108 | 1109 | 1110 | 1111 |
| 1112 | 1113 | 1114 | 1115 | 1116 | 1117 | 1118 | 1119 | 1120 | 1121 | 1122 | 1123 | 1124 | 1125 | 1126 | 1127 | 1128 | 1129 | 1130 | 1131 | 1132 | 1133 |
| 1134 | 1135 | 1136 | 1137 | 1138 | 1139 | 1140 | 1141 | 1142 | 1143 | 1144 | 1145 | 1146 | 1147 | 1148 | 1149 | 1150 | 1151 | 1152 | 1153 | 1154 | 1155 |
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| 1420 | 1421 | 1422 | 1423 | 1424 | 1425 | 1426 | 1427 | 1428 | 1429 | 1430 | 1431 | 1432 | 1433 | 1434 | 1435 | 1436 | 1437 | 143  |      |      |      |

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## BASIC TERMS USED IN '500' LIST DEFINED

Warsaw ZARZADZANIE in Polish No 6, Jun 87 p 45

[Unattributed article: "Definitions of Basic Terms"; Polish term is followed by English equivalent in brackets]

[Text] Sprzedaz [Sales] comprises income from sales (in marketing prices) of products, services, patents, licenses, and other scientific-technical achievements, and also profits ensuing from sales of outside products.

Udzial sprzedazy eksportowej w cenach realizacji w sprzedazy ogolem [The share of export sales in marketing prices in aggregate sales] represents the ratio of export sales credited to the enterprises in transaction prices and sales to foreign-trade organizations in marketing prices to aggregate sales.

Akumulacja finansowa [Aggregate net earnings] represent the surplus of income from sales of goods and services to production and operating cost, corrected for the balance of extraordinary profit and loss. Aggregate net earnings may be either positive or negative.

Wynik finansowy [Net earnings] represent the difference between sales income and production cost plus applicable subsidies and minus sales tax, and also corrected for clearing of foreign-trade accounts, price differences, and the balance of extraordinary profit and loss.

Positive net earnings constitutes a profit, while negative net earnings represent an enterprise loss.

Obciazenia przedsiebiorstw [Total tax liability] comprises: sales tax on distribution of aggregate net earnings, fees for clearing of foreign-trade accounts and price differences, taxes on wages and real estate as taxes on production cost, taxes on profit in the form of income tax and the tax on norm-exceeding wages, the the sinking-fund allocations to the central budget.

Podatek obrotowy [Sales tax] applies to the activities of economic organizations consisting in the sale of their own products as well as of outside and imported products and the sale of services.

Podatek dochodowy [Income tax] is the tax payable on profits.

Dopłaty [Subventions] comprise organizational subsidies as well as subventions for negative results of foreign-trade activities and negative price differences and other negative financial results.

Ulgi [Total tax credits] in the form of income tax relief consists in reducing the basis of taxation to an amount corresponding to the mathematical product of the amount excluded from the basis of taxation and the tax rate binding on the taxpayer. This concerns chiefly tax credits for export sales, fuel and energy conservation, and manufacture of quality-certified products.

Udział odpisu z zysku na fundusz rozwoju [Allocations from profits to development fund] in net earnings represent the ratio of allocations from profits for the development fund and income tax credits for the development fund to net earnings minus income tax.

Rentownosc netto [Net profitability] is the ratio of net earnings to production and sales cost.

Produkcja czysta [Net output] is the difference between the value of aggregate output plus or minus sales (in marketing prices) of the difference in remaindered finished and unfinished products and the earnings from remaining sales, to the material costs corrected for periodic cost accounting and for other factors relating to production and sales cost. Material costs include: perishable materials and objects, energy, transport and repair services, outside treatment, other services included in material costs, and amortization. The elements of net output are nonmaterial costs (wages, wage tax, social security and other wage surcharges, allocations to plant fund and to special funds, official travel, bank fees, rents, etc.) and earnings (sales tax, subventions, clearing of accounts in foreign-trade, price differences, and net earnings).

Zatrudnienie [Employment] in industrial enterprises comprises: persons employed on the basis of labor relationship, i.e., labor contract, or by selection, or by appointment; members of organized work groups; persons doing surrogate civilian service in plants or factories in lieu of military service; trainees; persons working abroad on behalf of domestic industrial enterprises. Students and persons employed in commissioned work are not included. The data pertain to average employment, with the number of part-time employees adjusted in terms of fulltime employees.

Wydajnosć [Productivity] represents the quotient of net annual sales with respect to average employment. Net sales are the difference between sales in marketing prices minus sales tax and material costs.

Wynagrodzenie przecietne [Average wage] represents the quotient of personal wages paid over a year (including worker compensation payments and profits for distribution as well as net surplus in cooperatives, not including the wages paid to students and persons performing commissioned work) in terms of average employment, divided by 12 [months].

Srodki trwale produkcyjne brutto [Productive fixed assets] comprise solely the value of the fixed assets used in (basic) production operations of industrial enterprises.

Wskaźnik zużycia [Depreciation indicator] is the percentile ratio of the depreciation (amortization) of fixed assets to their overall value.

Wskaźnik pokrycia zapasów funduszami własnymi w obrocie [Operating fund-reserves coefficient] is the ratio of operating funds to reserves (inclusive of periodic clearing of accounts). Operating funds are part of the statutory funds allocated for financing liquid capital.

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